Collection
INTERFACE

Bernard Leblon

Gypsies and Flamenco

Gypsy Research Centre
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The Interface Collection

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Bernard Leblon

Gypsies and Flamenco

The emergence of the art of flamenco in Andalusia

translated from the French by Sinéad ní Shuinéar

Gypsy Research Centre
University of Hertfordshire Press

Bernard Leblon

The author's first contacts with the Gypsy world and with flamenco, in Seville in the 1950's, were to exert a decisive influence over the rest of his life. From the 1960's onwards he has been engaged in research into the history of the Gypsies of Spain, culminating, in 1980, in his defending a doctoral thesis on the subject, and subsequently in the publication of a number of works and the setting up of a specialised research centre at the University of Perpignan, where he was professor of Hispanic studies until his retirement in 1994.

He has been participating in flamenco congresses since 1982, and has been a member of the Andalusian Flamenco Foundation since its inception in 1987. He is a member of the board of directors of the **Gypsy Research Centre** of the Université René Descartes, and of its associated **Research Group on European Gypsy History**.

His first work on flamenco, *Musiques tsiganes et Flamenco* (Gypsy Music Styles and Flamenco), was awarded the 1988 Andalusian Flamenco Foundation prize and jointly published by *Etudes Tsiganes** and Harmattan in 1990.

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Introduction

Flamenco studies and research on the *Gitanos* - the Gypsies of Spain - have, by force of circumstance, overlapped very little over the years. As work progresses in these fields - and it must be noted that both are very recent developments, dating only from the 1960's - research has become increasingly specialised, making any attempt at synthesis more and more difficult. The danger, obviously, lies in concentrating on individual phenomena in splendid isolation from the broader picture, with the ultimate effect of a single tree obscuring the whole forest. Thus the monstrosities frequently propounded with regard to the relationship between Gypsies and music have been facilitated by their authors' ignorance of the situation beyond the borders of their own country, or even of their own particular region of it. There is even a fairly entrenched tendency among Andalusians to consider "their" Gypsies - the *Betica** Gypsies, as some call them - as having nothing whatever in common with Gypsies elsewhere, an assumption which has led some imaginative authors to invent an entirely separate origin and history for them. Clearly, such excesses can only be remedied through international research cooperation in seminars and teamwork.

Long before such collaboration was on the cards, though, I had the good fortune to benefit from a very particular set of circumstances. I first came into contact with Andalusia in the 1950's, when I was initiated into flamenco music through my guitar-playing. A little later, in the early '60's, my perspectives on Gypsy music were broadened through attending meetings organised by *Etudes Tsiganes* and by unexpectedly meeting André Hajdu, a Hungarian musicologist in exile in Paris. The ensuing years - right up to 1979 - were spent researching and writing up a doctorate thesis on Gitano history, and it wasn't until I had defended it - from the early '80's onwards - that I was able to return to my first love and get back into flamenco circles, which in turn launched me into new research.

The only point of all this biographical detail is to explain how it was possible for me to link up fields which up to now have been entirely separate : Gitano history and flamenco on the one hand, and on the other a comparative study of the music of Andalusian Gypsies and of the Gypsies of Central Europe. Were it not for these particular circumstances, I would have been unable to perceive the links which eventually proved indispensable in lifting the veil of mystery hanging over the origins of flamenco. The question is far from being resolved, but at this point we have progressed beyond mere speculation. On the contrary, the following pages present a set of data which are precise and, though sometimes subtle, very concrete, and which together enable us to make the most honest possible assessment of currently available information.

Part One, which retraces the journey of professional Gypsy musicians from India to Spain, confines itself to the crucial stages of that voyage, and aims primarily at highlighting those shared characteristics which enable us to define a certain "family likeness" running through the various styles of Gypsy music.

Part Two deals with the forced settlement of the Gypsy population of Spain between the time of the Catholic Monarchs* and the end of the 18th century. This painful tale forms an essential backdrop to understanding the conditions of acculturation within which the new art-form known as *flamenco* sprang into being.

Part Three concentrates on a number of families established for the past three or four centuries in a specific region of Lower Andalusia in what have at times been rather unique conditions, and who have played a decisive role in the development of flamenco music.

The fourth and final section attempts to summarise existing hypotheses on the origins of flamenco, subjecting them to as rigorous a critique as possible, and to draw from them some conclusions without straying beyond the facts of which we can be certain.

Gypsy bagpipe-player in the Netherlands.

"The Little Dancing-Girl". Detail of a tapestry from Tournai.

I. The Gypsies, Professional Musicians

1. India and Iran

North-West India, the Gypsies' country of origin, appears to have played an important role in the development of Oriental music. Several Iranian texts, the earliest of these being a history of the kings of Persia written by the Arab historian Hamza ibn-Hasan Al-Isfahani in the mid-10th century, and *The Book of Kings (Shahnameh)* by the Persian poet Firdausi dating from the early 11th century, relate a rather curious legend in connection with this subject.

According to these authors, the Sassanid king Bahram V, who reigned in Persia in the early 5th century (420-438), was moved to pity by the realisation that the poorest of his subjects could not celebrate festivities because musicians' fees were beyond their reach. He wrote to his brother-in-law, King Shankalat of Kannauj (in Northern India), who - so the story goes - responded by sending him musicians from his kingdom : 12,000 of them, according to Hamza, who calls them *Zott*, a mere 10,000 according to Firdausi's poem, where they are called *Luri*. Once they had arrived, Bahram allocated them donkeys, cattle and seed grain, so that they could cultivate the earth. All he demanded in return was that they play music free of charge for the poor. A year later they returned to him, pale and famished. They had contented themselves with

playing music, and had consumed their seed grain and cattle without taking the trouble to sow or to labour. Greatly annoyed, Bahram advised them to string their lutes with silk, take their donkeys and begone, travelling the world and making their living with their music. Of course this sort of anecdote brings the Gypsies to mind, particularly as the term *Zott* is among those used by the Arabs to designate them.

2. From East to West

What is certain is that the Gypsies spent a considerable period in Iran, as indicated by the numerous Persian loan-words in their language, Romani; that they exercised their talents as professional musicians in that country; and that they contributed to the diffusion of Oriental musical instruments and styles towards both the Arab world and the West. As regards Arab countries, we know that in Egypt - where musical styles (*maqamat*) are generally of Iranian origin - Gypsy musicians continue to play a very important role, as do *ghawazi** dancing-girls. Further west, a great deal can be learned through tracing the diffusion of instruments, such as the *tambura*, a Persian lute to be found as far

Hungarian Gypsy musicians.

afield as Serbia; the *santur*, a sort of dulcimer, also Persian, which becomes the *sandouri* in Greece and the *cimbalom* in Hungary; and the *nay*, whose name means "reed" in Iran and designates the Pan pipes in Romania and the straight flute found throughout the Muslim world.

The first instruments Western chroniclers noted as being played by Gypsies were lutes, mentioned in Dubrovnik on the Dalmatian coast, and in Hungary, both in the 15th century. In the latter country the *cimbalom*, mentioned above, was already being cited as a Gypsy specialty. In France a little later the Gypsies were considered expert harpists, and indeed appear to have enjoyed a monopoly in connection with that instrument for a period.

3. Turkey and Greece

In many Muslim countries certain religious prejudices against music left the field wide open to Gypsy practitioners, who sometimes had it entirely to themselves. This is particularly the case among the Kurds of Turkey, where the drums (*davul*), oboe (*zurna*) and triangular violin (*kemançe*) are professions reserved exclusively for Gypsies. This is why in several regions of Europe, such as Greece, the words *Gypsy* and *musician* are synonymous. As Nick Davanellos, a Greek musicologist, explains,

> "Even today, we rarely say 'The musicians are coming'. We say, 'The Gypsies are coming'."

He claims that Gypsies have been going from village to village to celebrate *panegiri*, votive festivals in honour of the local patron saint, for a very long time. Formerly they frequently travelled in pairs, one playing the *pipiza*, a sort of whistle made of a small reed, the other a flat drum called a *daouli* (the Turkish *davul*). The *pipiza* was introduced to Greece between the 13th-16th centuries by Gypsy musicians coming in from Asia. These also brought in the Arab lute (*'ud*), the *sandouri*, the *defi* - a drum along the lines of those known as *def* or *duff* in Asia - and the clarinet, which came in from Turkey around 1820. Dr. Davanellos gives us further specifics on the role of Gypsy musicians :

> "The Rom did not only play hymns on patron saints' days; they played at weddings, christenings, and in the taverns at night. They went from house to house playing Christmas carols and Easter psalms. They were

the only musicians present at every festival, every celebration. They brought life, joy and happiness to everyone taking part."

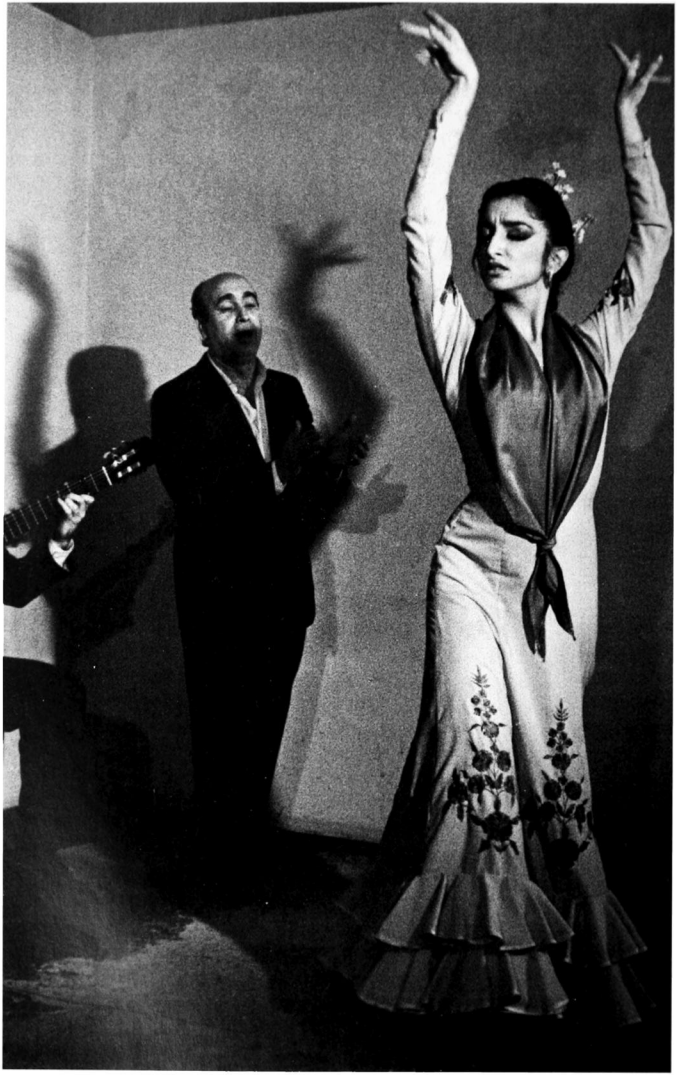
This is why Greek music is tinged with a Gypsy flavour, at once so remarkable and so indefinable. Gypsies have been professional travelling musicians just about everywhere, particularly in Central Europe, whence the evident "Gypsification" of Romanian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Russian and even Ashkenazi Jewish music.

"Gypsy Musicians" - Painting by Valério in Musée Universel.

Once we understand that, from the 16th century, Gypsies were already playing "in the Turkish manner" for the pashas occupying Hungary, and "in the Hungarian manner" for the Magyar princes resisting the invasion, we can form some idea of the enormous musical amalgam achieved by these musicians within the musical cultures of a large part of Europe and the Mediterranean world. While interpreting local music to suit the tastes of their clients, they have always done so in their own way, permeating folk tunes and popular airs with their own musical traditions and, perhaps to an even greater degree, with their own way of living, feeling, and expressing music. In some cases, new musical styles were born out of this extraordinary encounter of East and West through Gypsy intermediaries. Hungarian "Gypsy" music falls into this category, as do some types of Greek music, and, of course, flamenco, of which we will speak at length further on.

4. Hungary

Before going on, let us stop a moment in Hungary, where we shall find a situation somewhat comparable to that of Andalusia and, in addition, more authentically Gypsy music styles, for internal consumption, which later on will serve as reference points. For the moment let us content ourselves with lending our ears to the music played professionally by Gypsies of the so-called "Hungarian" or *Romungro**, group, leaving aside the "Wallachians" or *Vlax* for the time being. Gypsy musicians' success in the 1500's continued to grow over the following centuries, and the great Hungarian families were to keep whole orchestras of them, generally comprising violins, a double bass, sometimes a few bagpipes and/or clarinets, and, of course, the *cimbalom*. Ensembles of this type were also to be found playing at the dances of humbler folk, and, more surprisingly, accompanying recruiting sergeants as they made their rounds from village to village. Gypsy musicians, dressed for the occasion in dapper Hussars' uniforms, were set up in a corner of the village square, and drink was plied on local youths; the music and wine together so muddled their senses that they signed up. This was how *verbunkos* music, the so-called recruiting-sergeants' dance, was born; by about 1835 it was to develop into the *csardas*, a name drawn from *csárda*, the tavern of the *puszta*. This music exhibits an Oriental structure, with a fairly slow prelude known as a *lassu*, *lassan*, or *keserrgö* (lament) and a fast and furious finale called a *friss* or *friska*. Its exhilarating effects have become legendary, due to the writings of Prosper Mérimée among others. In a letter dated 1854, he recorded :



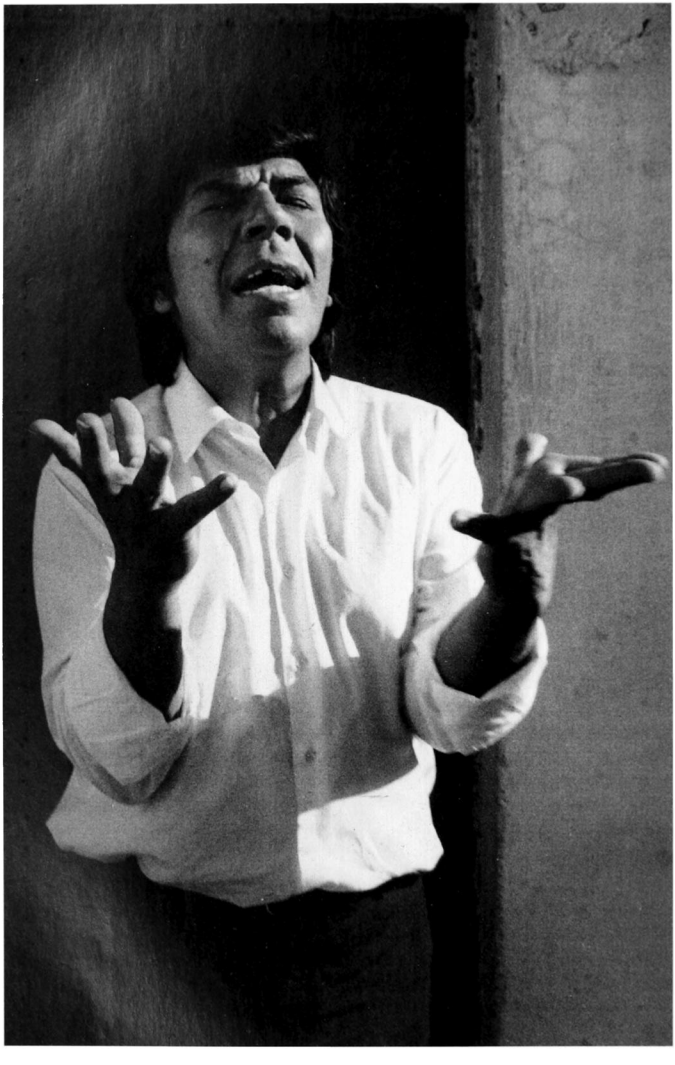
"It starts with something very lugubrious and finishes with a mad gaiety that wins over the listener, who stamps his feet, smashes glasses and dances on the tables."

It should be noted that Gypsies were not only interpreters but generally also composers of the musical styles known as *verbunkos* and *csardas*. The most celebrated of these was certainly Janos Bihari, who in 1808 composed the *Krönungs-Nota* (also known as the *Bihari-Nota*) for the coronation of the Empress Maria Louisa, and collaborated in the composition of the famous *Rakóczi March*, later to become the Hungarian national anthem. In an era when conventional wisdom in Hungary as in Spain denies any creative input from Gypsies, it is important to emphasise these details, and to recall that Bihari exerted a very strong influence over his contemporaries such as Ferenc Erkel, Mihaly Mosonyi and Franz Liszt.

These instrumental styles, some Gypsy, some Hungarian, embrace diverse influences, in particular Turkish ones - notably in the manner of playing the violin - and, of course, a very Gypsy genius for the aptly timed switch from languid melancholy to unbridled frenzy. Apart from these specialties of *Romungro* professionals, Hungary has other, more folkloric, music styles, which are more authentically Hungarian. Yet here too the role of travelling musicians had a decisive impact and some of these styles are interpreted in the Gypsy manner to this day. Gypsy influence is also noticeable in popular song, which appeared around 1840 as a sort of mélange of the various tendencies mentioned above. We shall discuss this further on.

5. Gypsy "Flavour" and the *Duende**

It is impossible to list all the music styles played by Gypsy professionals, even if we were to limit ourselves to Europe. They display important differences in accordance with the habits and preferences imposed by indigenous musical cultures, yet all demonstrate a singular congruence and even a certain "family resemblance" attesting to the *Gypsy* temperament of the musicians involved. What exactly is this famous temperament, this strange Gypsy "flavour", immediately recognisable regardless of instrument or style? This is undoubtedly the hardest thing to define, since it can take such varied forms. In instrumental music it is often a diabolical virtuosity that takes your breath away, for it is never mechanical, but always animated by a sort of Dionysian trance. In slow



movements, it is an exaggerated languor, the bitterest and sweetest melancholy, nostalgia at its tenderest and most cruel. In rapid passages it is a fervour, an unchaining of the senses, a paroxysm uniting the Moscow singer and the Seville, Morón, or Lebrija dancer, Ankara musicians and Jerez *buleaeros** in the same raging flame.

Jarko Jovanovic, the great Yugoslavian Gypsy musician who died in Paris in 1986, defined one of the styles he interpreted as follows :

> "Fevered, soaring, tempestuous, extravagant, erotic, fragile, subtle, bitter and full of the sufferings of love"

and added :

> "It strikes straight at the emotions."

The strings may be squeaky and worn, the voice cracked and hoarse - what counts here is not the pure and polished sound imposed by the anxious academicism of our conservatories, but outrageous expressivity, a sound too human to be heard without a total upheaval of one's being, a heartrending cry that rips through the guts and transposes the listener to the sacred ecstasy of the *duende**. In the argot of flamenco, one does not say that a voice is beautiful, but rather that it "hurts"; it is not meant to *please* the listener, but to wound him like a dagger brandished in passion.

Frederico García Lorca noted that the *duende* - which he defined, with an expression borrowed from Goethe, as *"a mysterious power that everyone feels and no philosopher can explain"* - has a wonderful power enabling the poorest material, the singer with no breath and no voice, the oldest, fattest dancer, to triumph. The best Gypsy music is by no means that displaying the greatest brilliance or virtuosity, but rather that which comes closest to an ideal which can be summarised as : "*maximum efficiency through minimum means*". Just as the best *coplas* flamencas* (stanzas of flamenco song) can express the entire gamut of human emotion in two or three sibylline lines, the *duende* transcends the limits of the ineffable. It verges on the miraculous, like a dance on a tightrope stretched to breaking point. It can never be achieved without risk on both sides. It is never repeated and cannot be taught. The Gypsies say it's in the blood. Lorca said so too :

> "The duende is therefore a power, not a way of behaving; a struggle,

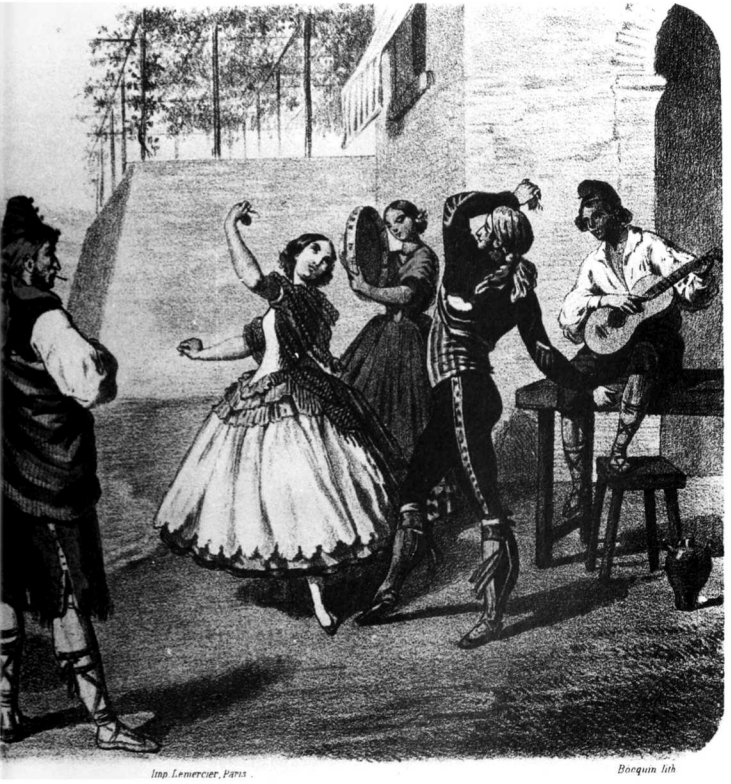
not an idea. I have heard an old master guitarist say, 'The duende is not in the throat; the duende comes from within, from the very soles of the feet'. That is to say, it is not a question of a faculty but of a truly living style, of a very old culture, of creation in action."

6. Spain

In Spain as elsewhere, the Gypsies quickly gained a reputation as professional musicians, and from the late 1500's onwards were regular

Dance with guitar and tambourine (*pandero*).

participants in popular festivities connected with Corpus Christi in many Spanish cities, such as Toledo, where their presence was noted in 1593, 1596 and 1604, and Segovia, in 1613, 1624, and 1628. In Grenada, this participation dates from 1607, when the Moors (Arabs recently converted to Christianity) were excluded from the festival and, two years later, expelled from the country. Writing in the same period, Cervantes gives us a description, in *La Gitanilla* (*The Little Gypsy Girl*), of the travels of the heroine and her troupe from village to village to enliven votive festivals by dancing in the streets. These Gypsy performances enjoyed such success that they were quickly imitated on theatre stages, and gave rise to a law signed by Philip IV in 1633 aiming to ban them.



7. The "Gypsy" Repertoire

The professional repertoire of the Gypsies of Spain in the Golden Age is well known. Some songs come down from the most authentically Spanish tradition, among them the *romances** - ancient narrative ballads with a fairytale or legendary content, many versions of which have been preserved thanks to their oral transmission in certain Gitano families - and the *seguidillas**, which are generally danced to, of very ancient origin, a living component of Spanish folklore right to the present day, when they have attained enormous popularity under the name of *sevillanas*.

Over the years, the remainder of the repertoire has been made up of the popular dances that come and go with changing fashions, such as the *polvico*, the *zarabanda* and the *chacona* in the 17th century; a little later came the *bolero*, the *cachuca*, the *canario*, the *cucaracha*, the *cumbé*, the *dingo*, the *fandango*, the *guaracha*, the *guineo*, the *jaleo*, the *jopeo*, the *mandingoy*, the *tirana*, the *zarambeque*, the *zerengue*, the *zorongo*, etc. etc. These dances interpreted by 18th century Gypsies are of very diverse origins : Andalusia, the Canaries, Africa and the Americas. The *guineo* and the *mandingoy* clearly display their African origins, as does the *cumbé* whose refrain evokes Angola; the *guaracha* is Cuban and the *bolero* has two distinct identities : the version that appeared in Cádiz in the 18th century has a very Iberian form and a three-part rhythm, while the version that surged through Europe the following century is distinctly Cuban.

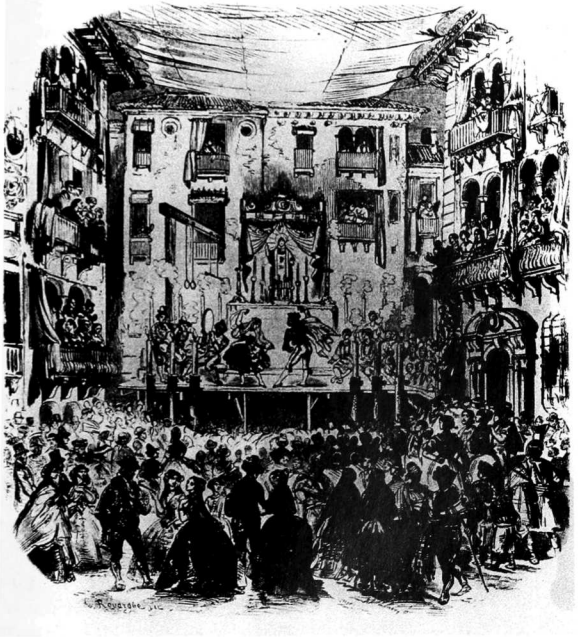
What was to become of all these musical styles? The most ancient of them were to be preserved in the bosom of Gitano families, where, as we shall see, they underwent some very strange transformations; the others all died out, with the exception of the *fandango*, which we shall discuss later on, and the *bolero* which, as already noted, was soon to re-emerge in another form.

8. Instruments

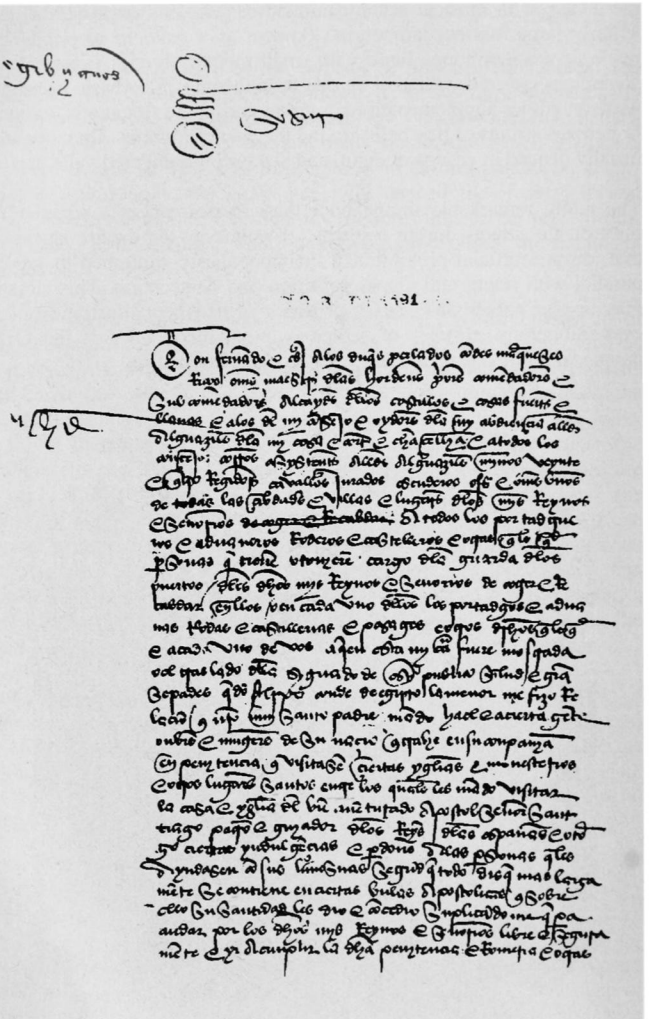
Quite apart from the theatre, where actors dressed up as Gypsies performed so-called "Gypsy" music and dance, we have a great deal of information concerning the participation of real Gypsies in public and private festivities. The essential element of the performance was always

the dance, with musical accompaniment usually limited to percussion : a fairly large, narrow tambourine (known as a *pandero* or *pandereta*), made of wooden hoops fitted with small metallic jingles (*sonajas*), and sometimes covered with skin on one or both sides. This basic instrument was sometimes supplemented by a guitar and, more frequently, castanets or perhaps strings of tiny bells around the dancers' ankles. Gitano women usually danced in groups of eight, and always outnumbered male dancers.

The really remarkable thing about these performances - whether real ones on the streets during festivals, or imitations on theatre stages - is that, despite official prohibitions, their popularity continued to grow in parallel with rising anti-Gypsy rejection and persecution. This situation may appear paradoxical, but it provides an excellent illustration of the ever-ambiguous attitudes of sedentary populations towards the Gypsy people, mingling fear and envy, hatred and fascination.



Parish festival, Valencia, 1862.



Safe-conduct granted by Ferdinand the Catholic to Philip, Count of Little Egypt, in March 1491 at Seville.

II. Spain and the Gypsies : A Policy of Forced Settlement

1. The Golden Age of the Pilgrims from Little Egypt

Gypsies began to make their way into Spain from 1425, by way of the Pyrenees. At the time they travelled in small groups of some thirty to a hundred individuals, under the direction of leaders calling themselves "counts" or "dukes" in order to impress the local authorities. They claimed to have been driven out of their own country, Little Egypt - a region of Messenia in the Southeastern Peloponnese - by Turkish invaders, and to have been condemned by the Pope to seven years of pilgrimage. With this double status as refugees expelled for their faith, and as Christian pilgrims, they were generally well received, and monarchs granted them letters of protection. In the month of May, 1425, King Alphonsus V of Aragon intervened on behalf of Count Thomas of Little Egypt, en route to Santiago de Compostela, from whom the inhabitants of the city of Alagón had stolen two magnificent hounds.

In 1462, two counts of Little Egypt were accorded a princely welcome by Constable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, who invited them to dine at his table and provided accommodation for the rest of the troupe - some

hundred persons - in his palace at Jaén, in Andalusia, for a fortnight. Some years later, in 1470, the same constable received a count and a duke of Little Egypt at his Andujar residence, in the same manner. From 1480, more troupes of Gypsies arrived in Spain. The men leading them no longer called themselves counts or dukes, but "knights" or "captains". Nor did they mention Little Egypt, saying only that they came from Greece. The memory of this division of Gypsies into two groups was to survive in Spain at least to the early 17th century; in 1618 a scholar, Salazar of Mendoza, informs us that the "Greeks" are blacksmiths while the "Egyptians" are more closely associated with horse-dealing, the women distinguished from their "Greek" counterparts by characteristic costume including a multi-coloured blanket pinned at the shoulder and a great round headdress.

2. The Intolerance of the Catholic Monarchs* and their Successors

With the instatement of the Catholic Monarchs, intolerance established itself in Spain, a country where the three religions - Christian, Jewish and Muslim - had coexisted up until then. The Inquisition, set up in 1478, was to harry converted Jews (known as *Conversos* or *Marranos*) before turning its attentions to converted Muslims (*Morisques* or Moors) and Protestants. 1492, the year of the reconquest of Grenada* and the discovery of the New World, was also the year the Jews were expelled and, in 1499, three years prior to the forced conversion of the Muslims, Ferdinand V and Isabella I, joint monarchs of Aragon and Castile, signed Spain's first anti-Gypsy law. This opens with the gracious salutation,

> "To you, the Egyptians, who wander our Kingdoms and Domains with your women, your children and your families, Salutation and Grace!"

It ends, by contrast, on a less amiable note : the Gypsies were given a 60-day period in which to settle down and take up a trade or hire themselves out as servants. Those who refused the proposal were given a further 60 days in which quit the country permanently, on pain of 100 lashes and condemnation to perpetual exile. In case of recidivism, they were to have their ears slit (the contemporary equivalent of "having a record"), be incarcerated in chains for a period of 60 days, then re-expelled. Finally, if they persisted in disobeying, they were to become the slaves for life of whoever captured them.

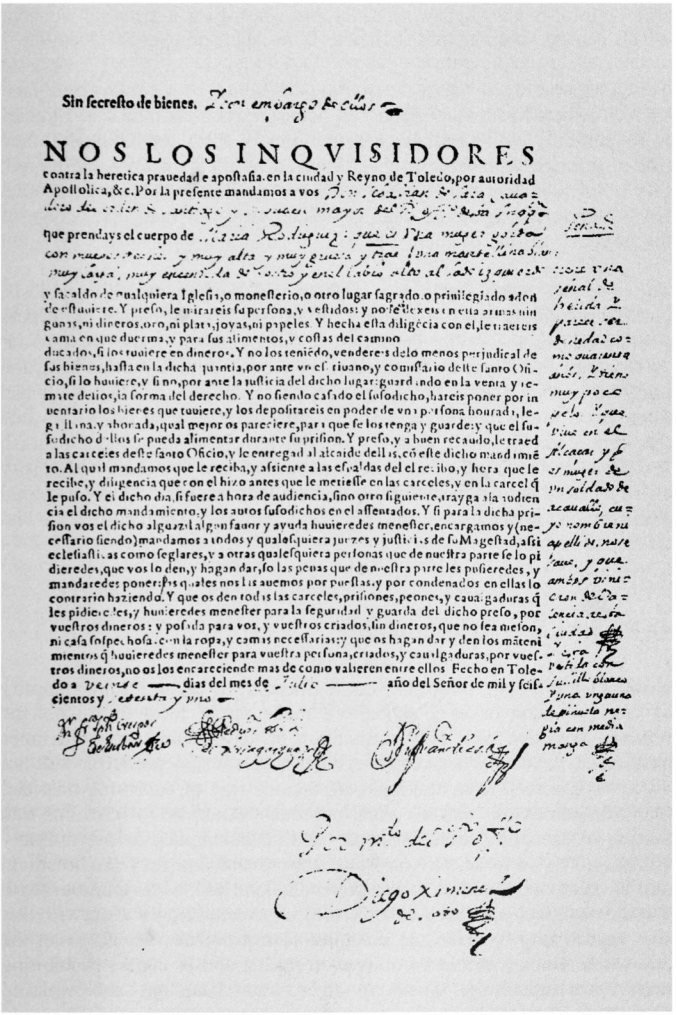
This appalling text - adapted by the poet Felix Grande and interpreted by the Gitano singer Juan Peña "El Lebrijano" in a celebrated 1979 recording under the title of *Persecution* - appears to have had little impact at the time. Forty years on, in 1539, after many complaints from the States General* (*las Cortes**) of Castile, Charles I* decided to issue a new law. This time, Gypsies were given a three-month deadline in which to choose between settlement and exile : once it had elapsed, any male aged between twenty and fifty caught travelling in a group of three or more was to be sent to the galleys* for six years.

There is evidence that these later measures were indeed enforced, since six years later, when mutiny broke out on a galley ship, there were thirty Gypsies aboard, three of them nearing the end of their sentences. Nonetheless the Gypsies must have succeeded in adapting to these curious interdictions to travelling in groups, since in 1560 Philip II signed another law, this one specifying that all men of the Gypsy community caught on the roads were to be sent to the galleys even if travelling in a group of three or less at the time of their arrest. This time round, the women were not forgotten : those wearing their traditional costume were to be whipped and condemned to banishment for life.

3. "There Is No Such Thing as a Gypsy"

It must be remarked that the laws of Castile, aiming at the immediate settlement of the Gypsy population, were somewhat original in comparison to those of the rest of Europe and indeed the remainder of Spain, which, deeming nomads to be undesirables, contented themselves with their regular expulsion. This difference of treatment was to have considerable repercussions later on, as we shall see, since the Gitanos were to experience mass sedentarisation over the course of the 18th century, in stark contrast to the situation prevailing for Gypsies elsewhere in Europe.

The Spaniards hesitated somewhat before getting there, however. If settlement remained the official policy, there were several representatives in the States General (*las Cortes**) who advocated a policy of expelling all Gypsies from the State. In fact both schools of thought were seeking the most efficient method of ridding the country of a category of individuals whose mobility sedentary populations found disturbing. The Spanish decided that pushing them over a border that they would cross right back again when the neighbouring country's intolerance level rose in its turn, was not the best way to go about this. Moreover, Spanish



Sin secresto de bienes. Con embargo de ellos

NOS LOS INQVISIDORES

contra la heretica prauedad e apostasia en la ciudad y Reyno de Toledo, por autoridad Apostolica, &c. Por la presente mandamos a vos [illegible] que prendays el cuerpo de María Rodriguez [illegible] con muchas [illegible] y muy altas y muy gruesas y [illegible] muy cayda, muy escuera [illegible] y en el labio alto al lado izquierdo [illegible] y facaldo de qualquiera Iglesia, o monesterio, o otro lugar sagrado, o priuilegiado adonde se estuuiere. Y preso, le mirareis su persona, y vestidos; y no le dexeis traer armas ni dineros, oro, ni plata, joyas, ni papeles. Y hecha esta diligencia con el, le traereis cama en que duerma, y para sus alimentos, y costas del camino ducados, si los tuuiere en dinero. Y no los teniendo, venderes delo menos perjudicial de sus bienes, hasta en la dicha quantia, por ante vn escriuano, y comissario deste Santo Oficio, si lo hauiere, y si no, por ante la justicia del dicho lugar; guardando en la venta y remate destos, la forma del derecho. Y no siendo casado el susodicho, hareis poner por inventario los bienes que tuuiere, y los depositareis en poder de vna persona honrada, legal, llana, y abonada, qual mejor os pareciere, para que se los tenga y guarde; y que el susodicho dellos se pueda alimentar durante su prision. Y preso, y a buen recaudo, le traed a las carceles destte Santo Oficio, y le entregad al alcaide dellas, con este dicho mandamiento. Al qual mandamos que le reciba, y assiente a las espaldas del recibo, y hora que le recibe, y diligencia que con el hizo antes que le metiesse en las carceles, y en la carcel q le puso. Y el dicho dia, si fuere a hora de audiencia, sino otro siguiente, traygan la dicha audiencia el dicho mandamiento, y los autos susodichos en el assentados. Y si para la dicha prision vos el dicho alguazil alguna fauor y ayuda huuieredes menester, encargamos y (necessario siendo) mandamos a todos y qualesquiera justicias de su Magestad, assi eclesiasticas como seglares, y a otras qualesquiera personas que de nuestra parte se lo pidieredes, que vos lo den, y hagan dar, so las penas que de nuestra parte les pusieredes, y mandaredes poner; las quales nos las auemos por puestas, y por condenados en ellas lo contrario haziendo. Y que os den todas las carceles, prisiones, peones, y cauallgaduras q les pidieredes, y huuieredes menester para la seguridad y guarda del dicho preso, por vuestros dineros; y posada para vos, y vuestros criados, sin dineros, que no sea meson, ni casa sospechosa, con la ropa, y camas necessarias; y que os hagan dar y den los mantenimientos q huuieredes menester para vuestra persona, criados, y cauallgaduras, por vuestros dineros, no os los encareciendo mas de como valieren entre ellos. Fecho en Toledo a veynte dias del mes de Julio año del Señor de mil y seiscientos y treynta y vno

Don Diego Ximenez

policy towards the Gypsy minority was based on a peculiar concept which can be summarised as "There is no such thing as a Gypsy".

This idea was drawn from the writings of some 16th century scholars, such as Albert Krantz and Sebastian Münster, who claimed that Gypsies were perfectly willing to accept individuals from the countries they passed through, into their troupes. Spurred by their mistrust and hatred, they concluded that the Gypsies were not an ethnically distinct people, but a ragbag of vagabonds fearing neither God nor man, the "dregs of the nations" as one of them put it.

The Spanish were only too pleased to develop this hypothesis, particularly during the 17th century following the expulsion of the Moors (former Muslims forcibly converted to Christianity). Some went so far as to claim that Gypsies dyed their skin on a monthly basis with the juice of certain plants, in order to appear foreign, and that they had made up a bogus language, a sort of incomprehensible argot, towards the same end. We shall soon be looking into how subsequent Spanish law drew its inspiration from such ideas, and how the denial of Gypsy ethnicity led the Spanish into relentless combat with every external manifestation of distinctiveness, such as language, costume, lifestyle and traditional trades.

4. Recipes for Extermination

However the Gypsy minority was defined, be it as an ethnic minority of foreign origin or as a subculture made up of local drop-outs, the primary objective was their elimination or, as official texts sometimes phrased it, to *exterminate* them. As we have seen, deportation was not always considered to be the most efficacious way of achieving this, and many Spaniards felt that the ideal approach would be to have this odd section of the population disappear within the masses of the ordinary citizenry. The first step, obviously, was to prevent Gypsies from breeding, and in 1594 two deputies to the States General of Castile came up with a rather original approach to this subject. According to them, all that was needed was to make the men live in a province very far from the one where women would be obliged to reside, and of course prohibiting both from travelling. Speaking their own language and wearing distinctive clothing were also to be forbidden. In this way, they would have no option but to marry the good peasants of their respective regions, and the problem would very quickly be solved.

The Assembly was divided on this proposal. A majority leaned towards expulsion, arguing that the supposedly very large numbers of "false Gypsies" would doubtless prefer to renounce their way of life than to be run out of their own country, and that the numbers actually expelled would therefore be negligible. Others, by contrast, felt that deportation was ineffectual against a nomadic people and that it would be better to send every one of them to the galleys. This latter solution was in fact largely implemented, with mass arrests of Gypsies decreed throughout the course of the 17th century whenever the navy required considerable numbers for the oars.

In 1610, when the general expulsion of the Moors had begun, the Duke of Lerme and the Council of State considered applying the same method to the Gypsies, but preferred to finish off the operation already under way on the former Muslims - whose conversion was felt to be superficial - first. The Gypsy project was eventually abandoned, despite numerous and violent protestations.

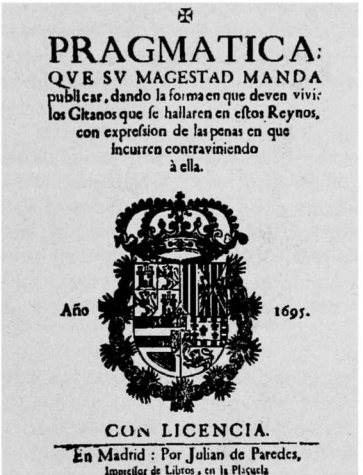
The solution ultimately adopted by the government was the dispersal of Gypsies among cities of a thousand or more inhabitants, where they were to be kept under close scrutiny, with any manifestation of distinctive characteristics expressly prohibited. This project, adopted by the States General (*las Cortes*) that same year - 1610 - was to inspire all subsequent law. Its basic premise was the argument that the Gypsies are not a *nation*, or, to put it another way, do not comprise a separate ethnic group.

5. The Law of Philip IV (1633)

Despite numerous petitions issuing from sectors within the States General favouring expulsion, and employing a variety of arguments - sparked by implacable racial hatred and signed by scholars such as Salazar de Mendoza, University professors such as Sancho de Moncada, and Court judges such a Juan de Quiñones, or voicing variations on the theme that the mere fact of being a Gypsy is a crime that ought to rate the galleys - the law signed by Philip IV in 1633 held to the 1610 States General proposal and declared outright :

> "Those who call themselves Gypsies are not so by origin nor nature, but solely because they have adopted this way of life, with measurable harmful effects and absence of profit for the State."

In consequence, Gypsies were banned from speaking a language or wearing costume different from those of other Spaniards. Horse dealing and trading at fairs - their principal means of livelihood - were also forbidden them. The first article of this law very clearly reveals its ultimate goal : to submerge a too singular minority within the broad masses, thus obliterating it. Thus, Gypsies were ordered to quit areas where they lived together, in order to melt into the population at large. They were forbidden to associate, whether publicly or in secret. They were kept under strict surveillance, with particular attention devoted to ensuring that they did not meet nor marry among themselves; their religious practices were also to be closely monitored.


PRAGMATICA:
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publicar, dando la forma en que deven vivir los Gitanos que ſe hallaren en eſtos Reynos, con expreſsion de las penas en que incurren contraviniendo à ella.
Año 1695.
CON LICENCIA.
En Madrid : Por Julian de Paredes, Impreſſor de Libros, en la Plaçuela del Angel.

The Pragmatic of Charles II, 12th June 1695.

Article 2 applied itself to expunging the very name and memory of the cursed race (or subculture, depending on the point of view). Gypsy or not, no one was to have the right to utter this name, henceforward regarded as a grave insult and as such subject to heavy sanctions. All Gypsy entertainments, whether authentic or theatrical imitations, were prohibited:

> "Be it in the form of dances or any other occasion, no action or representation will be tolerated; the costume and the name of the Gypsies are to be forbidden."

Article 3 outlines extremely severe sanctions to be applied to Gypsies daring to leave their places of residence : once again, the penalty was to be slavery for life. Gypsies caught in possession of weapons were sentenced to eight years in the galleys.

6. Gypsy Hunting and Ecclesiastical Immunity

At this point the policy of assimilation - or extermination - of the Gypsy people was in place. As we shall see, it was to be gradually perfected right up to the mid-18th century. In parallel with it, police measures aimed at Gypsies still wandering the countryside were reinforced. Within a short period armed militias specialising in this hunting down of humans were to be set up. In many regions, particularly La Mancha and Estremadura, bounty hunters organised small troupes of armed cavalry with the aim of scouring the countryside for Gypsies and delivering up to justice any they came across - dead or alive. They hoped to procure honours in recognition of these actions, but most of all they did it for the substantial benefits to be gained through confiscating Gypsy goods as well as extorting fines from local administrators of justice, declared guilty of negligence or complicity. *Santa Hermandad* ("The Holy Brotherhood"), the armed league created in 1476 by the Catholic Monarchs, operated along the same lines, so effectively indeed that numerous conflicts arose between these para-militias and the ordinary forces of the law on the one hand, and Church jurisdiction on the other.

Thus, in 1738, an *alcalde** of Zalamea - a city whose resistance to abuse of power had already been made famous in plays by Lope de Vega and Calderón - confronted *Hermandad* archers in defence of Gypsies living in the municipality.

As for questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, this was to be a bone of contention for over a century. From 1643 Pedro de Villalobos, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Salamanca, orchestrated a campaign aimed at demonstrating that the right to sanctuary, under which anyone pursued by the secular authorities could take refuge in churches, monasteries and convents, should not apply to Gypsies.

In 1700 the issue was revived with a trial calling so-called "cold immunity" (*iglesias frías**) into question. Once a (supposed) offender had been removed by secular law enforcement agents from a church or other venue under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and tried, he had to be

PRIVILEGIOS,
Y CONFIRMACIONES
DE LA SANTA HERMANDAD
VIEJA DE CIUDAD-REAL.

Soy del Rey

nueſtro Señor.

Año de 1721.

Comparecencia.

EN la Ciudad de Ciudad-Real, en primero dia del mes de Abril de mil ſetecientos y ſiete años, ante los ſeñores Don Juan Franciſco Velarde y Bermudez, D. Juan Triviño de Loayſa y Maſſa, Alcaldes de la Santa Hermandad Vieja de eſta Ciudad-Real por el Rey nueſtro ſeñor, con jurisdiccion Ordinaria en todos ſus Reynos, y Señoríos, pareció Joſeph Ruiz de Villanueva, Promotor Fiſcal de eſta Santa Hermandad, y dixo: Que por quanto ſe han reconocido, y experimentado algunos fraudes en los Privilegios, que hasta aquí ſe han dado de mano eſcritos, valiendoſe de ellos perſonas à quien no ſe le ha dado titulo de eſte Tribunal, como de otros, que por muy viejos, y rotos ſe traen, y tambien los titulos de Comiſarios, que ſe han dado haſta aquí, algunos de ellos los traen ſin ſer legitimos Miniſtros, ſolo à fin de tener-

A

Privileges of the Santa Hermandad, issued in 1721.

returned to the place from which he had been arrested. If the authorities failed to do this, the individual could continue to appeal to the Church if rearrested or implicated in new offences. The Council* of Castile declared itself scandalised by such practices and formulated various proposals for submission to the Vatican with a view to their eradication.

In 1721 a commission was specially created by Philip IV to determine whether ecclesiastical immunity applied to Gypsies, and the question was definitively resolved in 1748 following an accord with the Holy See authorising the transfer of Gypsies claiming sanctuary in churches, to chapels on the grounds of enclosed penal colonies. This measure, which stripped Gypsies of their last protection, was to facilitate the general internment carried out the following year, as we shall see below.

7. The Laws of Forced Assimilation (1695 - 1717 - 1745 - 1746)

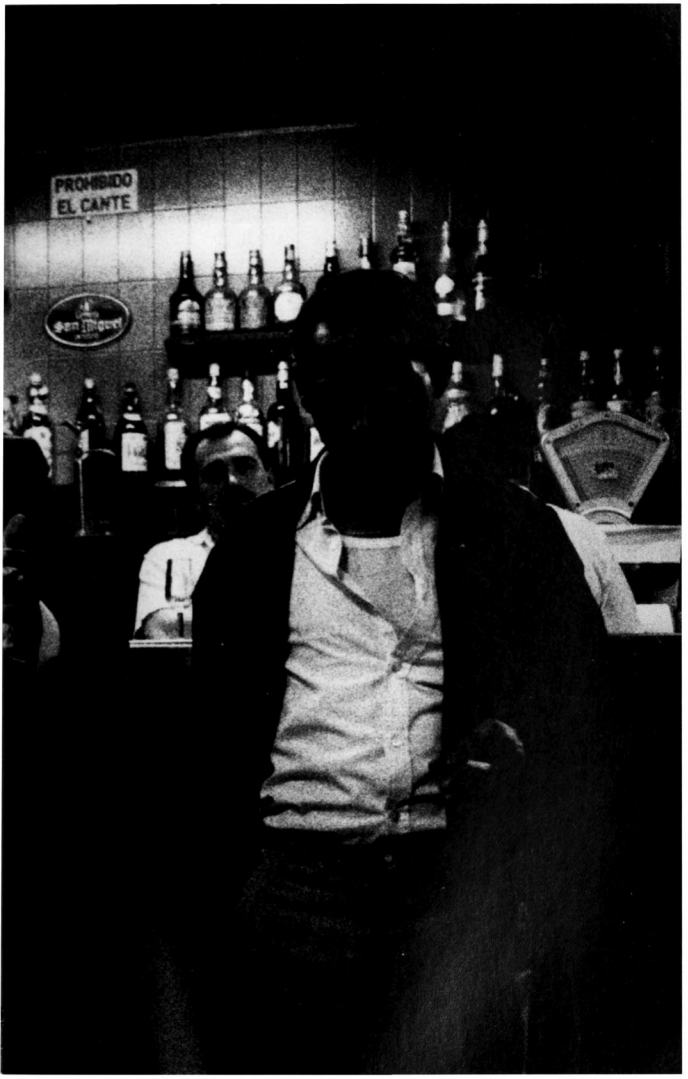
Settlement in closely supervised places of residence was seen as a first step towards elimination through assimilation. Numerous laws were passed to supplement the measures of the 1633 Pragmatic*. The first of these, signed by Charles II in 1695, aimed to remedy the failures of all earlier legislation. Its most characteristic measures are as follows :

- Article 1 : All Gypsies are required to register with the authorities of their place of residence within thirty days, declaring their name, age, marital status, profession, mode of life, names and ages of children (if any), as well as weapons, horses, mules and other animals in their possession.

- Article 2 : Those who fail to register, or who fail to make a complete declaration, will be liable to six years in the galleys.

- Article 3 : Following a period of a further thirty days, all Gypsies must be gone from the country, under pain of eight years in the galleys for men and two hundred lashes for women. Only Gypsies domiciled in agglomerations of 200 or more inhabitants, under certain conditions enumerated in the following articles, will be tolerated.

- Article 4 : The sole occupation authorised for Gypsies is the cultivation of the soil. All infractions will be punishable by eight years in the galleys.


PROHIBIDO
EL CANTE
San Miguel

- Article 5 : It is forbidden for Gypsies to possess or make use of horses. Only donkeys and mules essential for field labour will be tolerated.

- Article 6 : They are forbidden to possess firearms on pain of 200 lashes and eight years in the galleys.

(...)

- Article 10 : The buying and selling, and trading, of animals of all kinds is forbidden to them, on pain of six years in the galleys.

- Article 11 : Gypsies may not live together in the same quarter, nor wear costume distinct from that of other inhabitants, nor speak a particular language, on pain of six years in the galleys for men, 100 lashes and deportation for women.

- Article 12 : Gypsies may leave their place of residence only to go to work in the fields. They may not travel to another locality without written authorisation from the authorities.

- Article 13 : The galley penalties mentioned in the preceding articles will apply to male Gypsies aged between seventeen and sixty years. Boys between fourteen and seventeen will be sent to forced labour, while women will be punished by whipping and banishment.

- Article 14 : Any Gypsy, sedentary or not, who travels with two or more companions and possesses a weapon shall be condemned to death, even if not caught in the act.

The 1717 law is nothing but an update of the above, with a couple of amendments. From now on any Gypsy found in possession of a firearm, whatever the circumstances, was to be subject to the death penalty. Article 4, stipulating agriculture as the sole occupation authorised to Gypsies, was revised to specify blacksmithing as particularly prohibited to them. Finally, its principal novelty lies in its designating forty-one cities as the sole authorised places of residence for Gypsies.

The law of October 1745 is exclusively concerned with Gypsies who desert their places of residence. Those who failed to return within a fortnight were declared public bandits and could be shot on sight with no further legal process required.

As for the law of 1746, this adds a further thirty-four cities to the 1717 list, and specifies that Gypsies are to be distributed at a ratio of one family per hundred inhabitants. The authorities were to ensure that there was no more than one Gypsy family in any given street or quarter, and were charged with supervising these families' lifestyle and activities, taking particular care to keep them separated from each other.

8. The General Internment of 1749

After the implementation of these last measures concerning the dispersal and lifestyle of Gypsies in a limited number of closely supervised localities (75 in all), and following the abolition of the right to sanctuary, the last recourse of the recalcitrant, in 1748 after negotiations with Rome, the scene was set for radical action. There must have been a considerable body of opinion to the effect that the process of total elimination through assimilation was taking far too long to produce appreciable results, and that the time had come to employ more expeditious methods.

This was how it came to pass that the Bishop of Oviedo, Governor of the Council, who since 1747 had been developing a programme for the mass arrest of Gypsies in Spain, was able to put his plan into action. King Ferdinand VI, who hesitated at first, eventually agreed to it. The main problem as yet unresolved was what was to become of the Gypsies once they had been arrested. The Bishop put forward two proposals : the first was their general expulsion and the execution of the recalcitrant; the second, general incarceration, with all prisoners put to forced labour. This latter proposal was eventually adopted. Able-bodied men between fifteen and fifty were sent to forced labour in the *arsenals**, while boys aged twelve to fifteen were pressed into the navy.

Another recognised problem was the secrecy of the operation, and the logistics of implementing the sweep at the same hour of the same night throughout the whole of Spain. In fact the whole process had to be repeated for Gypsies who were not domiciled in official places of residence.

These measures evoked a chorus of protestations as soon as they were implemented. There were complaints from the Gypsies themselves, as yet unaware that theirs was a collective life sentence, demanding to know why they had been arrested when living peacefully in their own homes. Local authorities in the Gypsy municipalities objected as well,

since, despite the laws, many Gypsies occupied key positions in local commerce or craft industries, and whole communities suddenly found themselves without a blacksmith to repair agricultural tools, a miller to crush the oil from the olive harvest, or even a baker. The most sustained protests of all came from the directors of the *arsenals* themselves, utterly swamped by the arrival of thousands of convicts who had to be chained up at night in decommissioned ships or crammed into warehouses where they risked suffocation through overcrowding. What is more, no one knew exactly what to do with the prisoners, since despite being seriously weakened by the conditions of their detention they were meant to replace existing personnel handling harbour construction and maintenance - transporting extremely heavy stones while up to their waists in mud and water and encumbered by enormous leg chains.

Officials in charge of these establishments feared epidemics and mutiny. In fact mortality was high, but escape bids were rare and quickly brought in hand. Nonetheless the king eventually realised that an injustice had been perpetrated, and ordered the release of all Gypsies deemed to be honest. This was to take place through their residencies of origin reclaiming them by honouring their requests for certificates of good conduct. Yet less than half the internees benefited from this opening. Officials claimed that those released were not necessarily the best, but simply the poorest, since municipal authorities were none too anxious to restore the substantial takings confiscated from the well-to-do at the time of their arrest. Some of these unhappy victims were to rot in prison for all of sixteen years. In effect, the order for their general release, given by Charles III in 1763, was to be greatly delayed by the two Council Prosecutors, Campomanes and Sierra Cienfuegos, who, instead of designating places of residence for liberated internees as requested, became embroiled in endless polemics.

9. A Dark Age of Enlightenment

The great debate raging around the Gypsies in the second half of this so-called "enlightened" century is of little credit to the illustrious men involved, admirers of the French Encyclopaedists, such as the Count of Campomanes, Prosecutor of the Council of Castile, and the Count of Aranda, a personal friend of Alembert and Voltaire and President of the same Council. The former proposed the incarceration of all able-bodied sedentary Gypsies in penal colonies, which he euphemistically

dubbed "closed residences"; all others were simply to be deported to America. The Count of Aranda was to hold to the idea of deportation with regard to unmarried Gypsies.

He specified that boys were to be sent to the islands and girls to the mainland, thus reiterating the method of extermination proposed by the States General in 1594. As for married couples of childbearing age, Aranda stipulated simply that there should not be more than one such couple per locality, but condemned to the gallows any straying over a quarter of a league (less than two kilometres) from their domicile and proposed that children be separated from their parents at time of weaning, or when they began to talk. Charles III, whom posterity was to take as the very model of an enlightened sovereign, went further still : he wanted Gypsy children to be removed from their parents at birth, and opposed their being sent to school, particularly in the case of girls, since he felt that their presence in the company of boys (there were very few girls' schools at the time) would achieve nothing but encouraging their natural tendency to licentiousness.

10. The Law of 1783

All this debate culminated in time with the last of the Spanish Gypsy laws. Signed in 1783 by Charles III, it was drawn up by Campomanes in collaboration with a far less prominent Councillor, Pedro Valiente. It is apparently to this latter figure that we must attribute the relatively liberal spirit of the law, since the deportation and "closed residences" projects dear to the former were eventually dropped and the amendments concerning children, proposed by Aranda and indeed the king himself, were modified and limited to the families of persistent offenders. The principal novelty of this law was its granting Gypsies equal rights in comparison with other citizens, in particular with regard to work and residence. Article 1 reiterates the principle of the 1663 law : *"Those who call themselves Gypsies are not so by origin nor nature"*, but adds an important proviso :*"and they do not spring from corrupt stock"*.

In other words, there was to be no more talk of an infamous or cursed race - but in corollary any manifestation of distinctiveness, be it language, costume or lifestyle, was to be severely penalised.

Article 3 states that the word *Gypsy* and its substitute *New Castilian**

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE SIMANCAS

Manuscript of the Pragmatic of 19th September 1783.

have become very grave insults, the use of which will henceforward be proscribed. Article 5 allows ex-Gypsies (since they are now unnamable) access to all trades and guilds, on condition, obviously, that they renounce all distinguishing characteristics. By contrast the recalcitrant who continued to comport themselves as Gypsies were to be branded with red-hot irons, and condemned to death in case of recidivism.

Despite its limitations, the law of 1783 was effectively to confer some freedoms to the Gypsies, now permitted to exercise the occupation of their choice and reside wherever they liked. Indeed considerable movement took place over the following years, and shortly after the death of Charles III, in 1788, more or less as the French Revolution was getting under way, the first families of Gypsy horse-dealers from Barcelona and environs began to cross the frontier and establish themselves in Southern France.

Gypsy women of Triana, a suburb of Seville. - Drawing by Rouargue.

III. Gypsy-Andalusians : The "Flamenco Families"

1. The Lucky Few

The preceding chapter outlined the official situation of the Gypsies in Spain from their arrival in the 15th century to the passing of the law of 1783, a period marked by a long series of assimilative measures. What these laws do not tell us is that some Gypsy families were to settle spontaneously in certain towns and villages - especially in Andalusia - outside the implacable surveillance of the officially approved residences, whether at their own initiative before draconian laws regulating the existence of the sedentary came into operation, or because they enjoyed particular privileges there.

2. The Moorish Heritage

Historians have frequently confused the Moors (Spanish Muslims subjected to forcible conversion from 1502) and the Gypsies. Many 19th and early 20th century authors assert that the Gypsies are descended from Arabs and more recently a hypothesis claiming that the Moors disguised and transformed themselves *en masse* into Gypsies to evade the general expulsion of the early 17th century, has emerged. This

hypothesis quickly gained widespread acceptance and has been used by other authors towards unabashedly racist ends, the goal being to demonstrate definitively that the families of Lower Andalusia among whom the flamenco phenomenon came into being in the early 19th century, were not Gypsy.

In fact the hypothesis in question rests on rather slender evidence, namely two Inquisition trials and a certain similarity between the characteristic trades exercised by the two communities which, as we shall see, lends itself to a simpler explanation. The first trial, which took place in 1577 before the Inquisition of Grenada, concerns a certain Fernando López, a Moor, arrested because he was taken for a Gypsy. The reason for his disguisal seems most unlikely to have been in order to avoid deportation (since this project wasn't even on the cards until 1582, and implemented between 1609-1615), and López was in fact en route to North Africa at the time of his arrest. The second trial, conducted before the Inquisition of Valencia in 1590, is even less conclusive, since it concerns one Pedro Orejón who "became Gypsy" for the love of a beautiful Gypsy girl. History offers many cases of these conversions for love, in which neither the fact of being Moorish nor the threat of expulsion are of relevance.

As for the similarity of occupations, this can be logically explained by the fact that many Gypsies took advantage of the expulsion to fill the resulting gaps. We have already seen that the Gypsies were to be subject to general expulsion along the same lines once the Moorish project had been concluded, but that this plan was eventually dropped. In 1763 Campomanes furnishes us with an *a posteriori* explanation for this decision :

> "Expelling citizens from the Country was not good policy, since when the Moors were driven out in 1613, in considerable numbers, they left behind them deserted houses and fields, and abandoned trades."

The Council Prosecutor adds that there was a great deal more to be gained by profiting from these circumstances to encourage Gypsies to replace the deportees, and that some did so spontaneously, with no particular incentive other than the wish to avoid mounting persecution and achieve a degree of security.

This is the explanation for the fact that many Gypsy families, particularly in Andalusia, exercise trades and crafts generally scorned by *Old*

Christians (people of Spanish stock) and practised by the Moors up to the 17th century. These include not only blacksmithing and horse-dealing - which are likewise traditional Gypsy trades - but also masonry, shoemaking, rope- and mat-weaving, baking, butchery etc.

3. The First Sedentary Families

In fact this quiet integration of Gypsy families into areas which more or less welcomed them was already going on well before the departure of the Moors. In 1573, many Gypsy families earlier caught up in local expulsion drives requested and, thanks to the service records of some of their members, who had fought with valour under the command of Don Juan of Austria during the Moorish revolt (1569-1570), secured readmission to the Navarra villages of Falces and Larraga despite opposition from the residents. They were nonetheless required to abandon their language and costume, and to avoid the company of other Gypsies.

It was at approximately this same time - 1576 - that the Cortés and Medrano families settled in Antequera, in Andalusia. Some twenty years later, as it became more and more difficult to travel the roads of Spain if one were Gypsy, they applied through the intermediary of the local authorities for a royal pass authorising them to move about freely in pursuit of their trades. Nine witnesses, including two priests, four municipal councillors and a lawyer, were to testify on their behalf, and this is how we come to possess the information that these families were good Christians, dressed like everybody else, owned property in the town and sent their children to school. They were, in fact, indistinguishable from other inhabitants : they belonged to a number of confraternities, cultivated their lands, and paid their taxes. Moreover they too had service records, as they had come with their arms and horses to the defence of the cities of Cádiz and Gibraltar when these were under English and Dutch attack, and had also supplied grain to the army, the border defence forces, and the Fleet.

4. "Old Castilian" Certificates

There are a fair number of cases of this sort, with Gypsy families obtaining royal Privileges* in the form of certification officially granting them *Old Castilian* status exempting them from current anti-Gypsy legislation. One of the most interesting is that of the Bustamante, Rocamora, Montoya and Flores families, who procured a royal warrant at Valladolid (then the Court Residence) in 1602, a second letter in 1620, and a further royal warrant in 1623. The records tell us that the recipients or their near relatives - father, brothers, brothers-in-law and nephews - had served with the army in Flanders for a total of 24 years, over the course of which many family members had lain down their lives for Spain. The king in his gratitude granted them the right to choose their place of domicile and to engage in commerce in the fairs and markets despite existing anti-Gypsy law, from which they were totally exempted.

Thanks to these precious documents, the above-mentioned families were to make their home in Alcalá la Real, Jaén Province, Andalusia. Needless to say, they were frequently obliged to exhibit these famous royal letters, or copies of them, whenever called upon to prove that they were not Gypsies - that is, that laws aimed at Gypsies did not apply to them, because they were back from Flanders where they had covered themselves in glory. Naturally, in Alcalá and elsewhere people got to calling them *los Flamencos* - the Flemish - and by the 19th century this term was extended to mean Gypsies in general, in Andalusia at any rate, before it came to designate their characteristic music.

5. Changes in a Privileged Situation

Yet things have a tendency to go awry, even for the privileged. Thus, a Gypsy woman named María de Montoya, who had obtained a letter from the Council in 1677 authorising her to reside in a number of towns and villages, three years later ran into bother with *Santa Hermandad** archers, as well as with the authorities in her place of residence. When, in 1692, she applied for a fresh copy to replace the now badly worn original, the Council refused, on the grounds that she was simply using the document as a permit for vagabondage. Similarly, in the early 18th century the González family, domiciled at Brihuega and subsequently at Valdepeñas, were to know many troubles despite

holding numerous letters from the Council requesting that they be treated as *Old Castilians*.

6. Saved by Their Music

In certain cities increasingly restrictive anti-Gypsy laws posed problems for the authorities. This was the case in 1698 in Seville, where Gypsies played the tambourine and fife free of charge for companies of the militia. The grateful town wished to spare them from difficulties, especially as they were also blacksmiths and the new law, passed three years earlier, barred them from all but agricultural labour. The Council granted the Seville municipal authorities' request by permitting them to make an exception for these Gypsy musicians.

7. Official Recognition of Gypsy Usefulness

After 1717 things became even more complicated, as Gypsies no longer had the right to reside anywhere other than those cities expressly designated by law. For a time, families who of their own accord had made their homes in places where they found a welcome, and where they had become well integrated thanks to their professional activities, continued to lead a trouble-free existence in that the local authorities were not always fully aware of legislative developments in the capital. Yet the Council was implacable in its insistence : the 1717 law was reiterated in 1726, 1731, 1738 and 1740. In 1746, as explained earlier, the number of approved residences was raised from 41 to 75, and the authorities in those towns which were not on the list started to become uneasy. At Jerez the *corregidor** (local magistrate) and Municipal Council jointly intervened on behalf of a number of families by the name of Monge - one of whose descendants, living at San Fernando near Cádiz, was to become famous in our own times under the soubriquet of *Camarón*. Their statement attested that the Monges had been living in Jerez for many generations, that they were employed in agriculture and at blacksmithing (which was illegal, but the authors appear to be unaware of this), and that they were very useful to the farmers' guild. In consequence, they desire that the Monges remain in Jerez and not be subjected to the new law on the understanding that they will not wear the costume of the Gypsies, speak their language, or mix with them. Similarly, the *corregidor* of Motril intervened on behalf of the

Cortés, de Arroyo, de Cárcamo, de Carmona, Belmúdez and Torcuato families, as these were employed in local sugar refineries then at the height of operations.

At Vélez-Málaga, the *corregidor* interceded in favour of sixteen Gypsy families who had been living in the town for several generations and whose work as blacksmiths and sheep-shearers - both expressly forbidden occupations - was deemed highly useful to the community. His statement included a plea for recognition of the fact that they had obtained authorisation to reside in the town, and that obliging them to leave their work and move elsewhere put their very survival in jeopardy.

Having studied the various cases put before them, the Council granted the applicant *corregidors* permission to keep their Gypsies, on condition they guaranteed to see to it that these behaved, in every particular, like other citizens. Having made this decision, the Council planned to extend this type of exception to all localities requesting it, on condition that the Gypsies concerned, recognised as fulfilling a role of public usefulness, had resided in the locality in question for a minimum of ten years. As for Gypsies in possession of papers authorising them to be classified as *Old Castilians*, many of which had been confiscated in connection with forced relocation, the Council decided to return these to their owners, provided they fulfilled the same conditions. The purpose of these exemptions was to avoid the pointless overcrowding of legally appointed residences with families whose presence was considered beneficial elsewhere.

Yet all this time preparations were under way for the great round-up of 1749. This was to spare nobody, initially, though as we have seen some privileged individuals and their families were "reclaimed" by their places of residence a few months later. Up to 1783 Spanish Gypsies as a whole were kept under close surveillance, but we may assume that the fortunes of some well-integrated families, recognised as useful in their Andalusian villages, were less dramatic than those of the rest of the community.

8. After 1783

The tumult continued throughout Spain for a good five years after the passing of Charles III's law. Many local magistrates (*corregidors*), accustomed to thinking of Gypsies as outlaws, or indeed as simple gallows fodder, were unwilling to see them regaining even a degree of

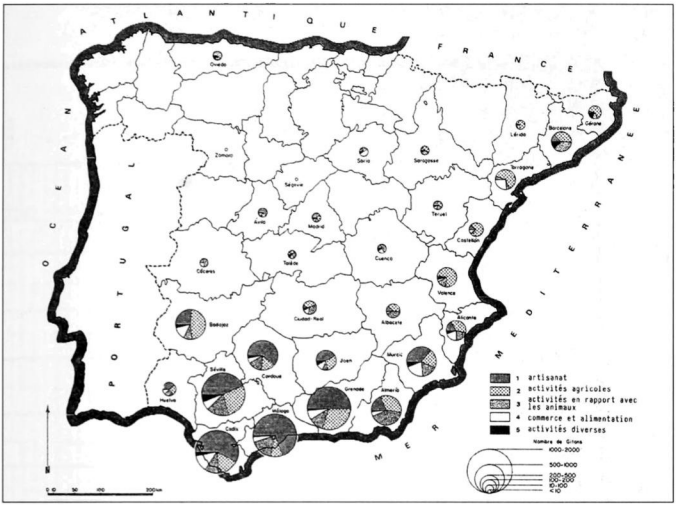
liberty. In practice the Pragmatic was almost always interpreted in a negative sense, and arrests actually multiplied. In 1785 an *alcalde* went so far as to write to the Count of Floridablanca, Minister of State and Counsellor to Charles III, to propose the systematic arrest of all transient strangers for an identity-check, and requiring all Gypsies wishing to travel outside their place of residence to carry a special pass. While post-1783 legislation no longer named Gypsies outright, but rather laid down regulations applying to horse-, donkey- and mule-dealing, restrictive clauses reminiscent of those outlined above were to reappear in the regulations of the *Guardia Civil*, drawn up in 1943 under the Franco regime :

> Article 4 - The Gypsies are to be kept under scrupulous surveillance, the documents in their possession examined with the greatest of attention, their clothing closely observed, their way of life monitored, and all other measures taken which will make it possible to form a clear picture of their activities as well as the motive and destination of their travels.
>
> Article 5 - Given that individuals in this category are generally of no fixed abode and are continually on the move from place to place to avoid recognition, it is advisable to gather all relevant information about them in order to prevent their stealing horses or goods of any other type.

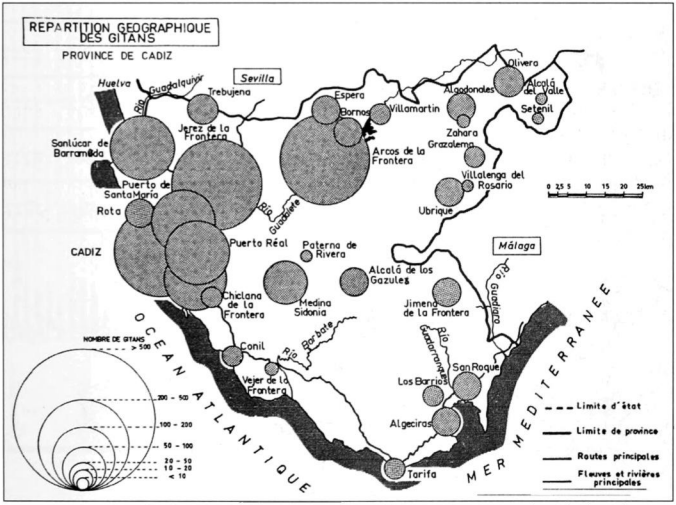
At the same time it should be noted that not all reports submitted to the Council and the king after the passing of the 1783 Pragmatic, were negative. Some courts reported that offences committed by Gypsies over the previous ten years were generally of a petty nature, primarily the theft of foodstuffs, a fact which would seem to indicate that the perpetrators stole from necessity. Magistrates also remarked the general tendency to systematically attribute to the Gypsies all thefts committed in an area, and the fact that many *Payos* (non-Gypsies) took advantage of this situation to camouflage their own misdeeds.

9. The Censuses of 1784 and 1785

The draft legislation formulated by Campomanes and Valiente in 1771 called for a census of all Gypsies in Spain. Two months after the passing of the Pragmatic signed by Charles III (September 1783), instructions were sent out to all *corregidors* to compile a detailed list of all Gypsies domiciled in their respective districts. In the event these instructions were interpreted so diversely that the Council was obliged to send out



Maps of Spain...



... and of the province of Cádiz, showing geographical distribution of the Gypsy population.

PLAN GENERAL

en que con distincion de Partidos y Provincias se manifiesta el numero de personas conocidas con el nombre de Gitanos que se hallan establecidas en los Reynos de la Corona de Castilla, con expresion de los arecindados años de la R.l Pragmatica de 10. de Septiembre de 1783: de las que lo han executado despues, y de los contraventores castigados y presos segun resulta de las listas remitidas por los Corregidores y Alcaldes mayores à consecuencia de lo mandado por S. M. en R.l Orn de 2o. de Dic.re de 1784 q.e se les comunicó en 28 del mismo

PROVINCIAS	PARTIDOS	Gitanos arecindados antes de la Pragmatica		Gitanos arecindados despues de la Pragmatica		Contraventores y		Total de personas por los correspondientes à cada Partido	Total de personas por los correspondientes à cada Provincia
		Varones mayores de 17 años	Hembras de mas de 17 años	Varones de menos de 17 años	Hembras de menos de 17 años	Varones mayores de 17 años	Hembras de mas de 17 años	Castigadas	Presas, y pendientes las causas		
Avila	Avila	3	7	7	3					20	20
Cordova	Cordova	10	16	11	12	2	3			54	470
	Lucena	107	121	56	58	4	5	4	2	418	
Cuenca	Cuenca	5	10	4	5	6	8	2	1	40	123
	Requena					11	14	8	6	39	
	San Clemente	3	3	3		11	10	4		35	
Estremadura	Alcantara	10	16	12	7	1	1			2	52
	Almendralejo	4	3	1	3						11
	Arnaya	1	1	1	1						4
	Badajoz	38	46	18	25	10	7	7	6		177
	Don Benito					3	4	4	3		14
	Hornachos	3	3								6
	Llerena	42	58	25	30	3	3	3	2	3	177
	Merida	33	25	27	26	1	1	2			120
	Oquendo de Leon	2	1								3
	Villafranca					1	2				3
	Villanueva de la Serena	1	1	2	11	8	2				32
	Xerez de los Caballeros	13	7	6	6						32
Granada	Adra	16	14	13	14	7	8	6	5		85
	Alhama	15	17	11	11	1	2		1		53
	Almeria	46	40	36	29	12	10	7	6		186
	Almuñecar	24	24	16	12	2	4	1	2		86
	Baza	127	103	77	83	32	23	31	24	1	3	512
	Estepona	1	1	2								11
	Granada	184	150	114	93	10	8	10	2		11	580
	Guadix	52	35	23	21	13	13	21	4			174
	Motril y Malaga	36	20	13	14							71
	Ronda	24	31	30	36							120
	Velez Malaga	132	134	82	84							432
	Marbella	3	3	1		1	1	1	3			13
	Marid	23	26	22	20	1	1	1	3			10 5
	Ronda	34	40	36	35	3	10	5	2		1	166
	Velez Malaga	78	60	42	42	6	7	6	4			356

Census of the Gypsies of Spain (Catalonia excepted) carried out in 1785.

numerous memoranda and eventually ended up with two series of lists, drawn up in 1784 and 1785, which largely complement one another and together provide very precise information on a population of 12,090 Gypsies throughout the country as a whole. This is how we come to know the surnames, first names, ages and occupations of all Gypsy heads of family residing in Spain at the time, as well as the surnames, first names, ages and occupations of their wives, children and other family members residing under the same roof. Some of these lists even give physical descriptions of all the individuals concerned.

Region by region, Andalusia was obviously in the lead, registering over 67% of Spain's Gypsy population. Next came *el Levante* (the central Mediterranean coastal region) with 14%, Catalonia (7.9%), Estremadura (5.2%) and New Castile (3.3%). In Aragon, Old Castile, and Léon, the numbers drop below 1%. No Gypsies were registered in the remaining provinces - Galicia, the Basque Provinces, and the Canaries.

10. The Case of Andalusia

Within Andalusia itself, the Gypsy population was distributed as follows : in first place, Cádiz, with 16.5% of the Gypsy population of the country as a whole, followed by Seville with 15%, Grenada (11.1%), Málaga (9.1%), Almería (6.4%), Córdova (4.1%), Jaén (3.8%) and Huelva (1%). Andalusia also offers a number of indices of better-than-average integration of the Gypsy population : it is here that the percentage of blacksmiths - a trade expressly forbidden by law, as we have seen, and a privilege reserved for those deemed to be well-integrated - is highest (41%), while the proportion engaged in the compulsory occupation of farming is lowest, at 23%. Here, too, the most mixed marriages were to be found (7.3% of all couples in the Gypsy census), while they rarely amounted to 2% elsewhere in Spain.

11. The Andalusian Miracle

We have here a body of data attesting to the region of Andalusia as a whole being quite unique with regard to Gypsy establishment there. The underlying reasons for this exceptional situation are diverse. Some are historical : we know, for example, that there had been a strong Moorish presence in the towns and villages where the gaps created by their

expulsion were filled by Gypsies, and that social coexistence with ethnic minorities engaged in certain reserved occupations was by no means alien to the tradition of openness and hospitality characterising these localities.

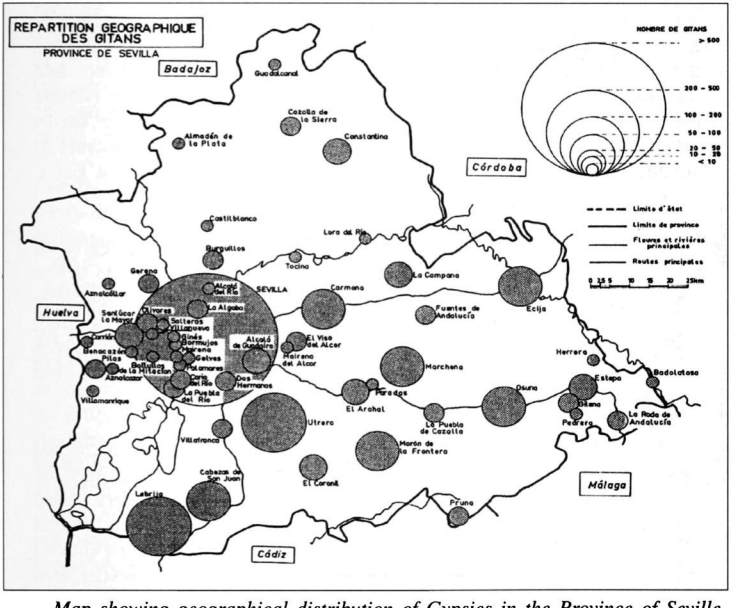
Among the economic factors contributing to Gypsy integration in Andalusia, we note the existence of *latifundia** providing massive temporary employment in conjunction with seasonal labour, but even more significantly an agricultural society which had developed the horse trade in a particular way and accorded certain types of craftwork such as blacksmithing, and itinerant trading, a special prestige. Thus Gypsy specificity found in Andalusia a favourable terrain for expansion.

12. Flamenco : A Philosophy and a Way of Life

Finally, it is impossible to overlook the hidden affinities between two peoples who are different but nonetheless share a number of values and particular traits, among which we note generosity, hospitality, a strong religious bent - or should we say a form of paganism?, the cult of honour, of courage, in short of a certain *machismo*, an ability to live in the present and, of course, a love of celebration. These common characteristics facilitated a sort of Gypsy-Andalusian osmosis and gave rise to what one might call a flamenco philosophy. The word *flamenco* - which as we have seen originally referred exclusively to the Gypsies themselves - covers not only the musical art shared (and sometimes fiercely contested) by both the Andalusian and the Gypsy communities, but also applies to an art of living, a way of comporting oneself in all circumstances of one's existence, the ensemble of reactions and attitudes among which prodigality, hair-trigger temperament, insane passion and a contempt for everyday niceties and material values, dominate. According to a famous saying, *los Flamencos no comen* ("flamenco aficionados do not eat"), and it is true that the search for extraordinary moments of communication and quasi-mystical musical exaltation in the course of intimate gatherings known to enthusiasts as *juergas** has nothing whatever to do with the satisfaction of "vulgar" gastronomic appetites, despite the fact that the accompanying consumption of alcohol (in the form of *fino*, the heady wine of Jerez) is a powerful stimulant of the *cante** (flamenco song) in this escape from the corporeal limitations which are our daily lot.

13. The Geographical Framework

At the end of the 18th century "Gypsy Andalusia" was not the whole of the province, and "Flemish" families were very unevenly distributed within it. In fact the two regions of Cádiz and Seville between them accounted for nearly half (46.8%) of the Gypsies in Andalusia, with 16.5% in Grenada, 13.5% in Málaga, Almería and Jaén each under 10%, and a mere 1.6% in Huelva, the least Gypsy region of Andalusia. Within the two first-named regions, Cádiz and Seville, sixteen localities stand in sharp contrast to the area as a whole, holding a concentration of some 821 Gypsy families, nearly a quarter of the entire Spanish Gypsy population at the time. These were, in order, Seville, Jerez, Cádiz, Arcos, Sanlúcar, Puerto de Santa María, Lebrija, Utrera, San Fernando (*La Isla*), Puerto Real, Ecija, Marchena, Medina Sidonia, Morón, Osuna and Carmona. All of these towns are considered flamenco strongholds, and most of them are part of what is known as the "cradle", that special zone where the *cante* first appeared before spreading throughout Andalusia and spilling over its borders.



Map showing geographical distribution of Gypsies in the Province of Seville.

14. The Great Flamenco Family

Since we are speaking of Gypsy families, mention must be made of the (numerically) most significant ones recorded in these sixteen towns. In descending order, then, these were : Vargas, Jiménez, García, Reyes, Monje, Heredia, Fernández, Moreno, Flores, Cruz, Montoya, Bermúdez, Cortés and Peña. Other families noted were (in alphabetical order this time) the Carrascos (blacksmiths in Puerto de Santa María, agricultural labourers and sheep-shearers in Lebrija), the Espletas (butchers in Sanlúcar de Barrameda), the Junqueras (concentrated mostly around Arcos), the Loretos (field labourers at Lebrija), the Nuñez (blacksmiths at Cádiz, Puerto de Santa María and Ecija, farmers in Jerez and mule-drivers in Morón), the Ortegas (blacksmiths in Puerto Real), the Pavóns (blacksmiths in Castilblanco), the de los Santos (sheep-shearers and blacksmiths in Seville, and blacksmiths in Puerto Real), the Sotos (sailors and blacksmiths at Cádiz, but also numerous at Málaga), the Torres (butchers, field labourers and sheep-shearers at Utrera, and weavers at Marchena), and the Valencias (merchants and sheep-shearers at Ecija, masons at Jerez and at Sanlúcar de Barrameda).

These are the great names of flamenco, and we observe that nearly all twenty-five of these families are related : in the 18th century as in the present day, these same names appear and reappear in the marriage records, with the result that the singers of today are all part of one great flamenco family. In fact they are all cousins, and intermarriage has given rise to numerous instances of double surnames such as Peña Peña, Soto Soto, Vargas Vargas etc.

Instances of homonymy abound, but Gypsies tend to go by nicknames (*motes*) which sometimes become hereditary (*apodos*) and may be transformed as required into artists' soubriquets. The great majority have achieved fame under these nicknames : *El Fillo* (Francisco Ortega Vargas), *Manuel Torre* (Manuel de Soto Loreto), *La Sarneta* (Merced Fernández Vargas), *Curro Frijones* (Francisco Antonio Vargas), *Curro Durse* (Francisco Fernández Boigas), *El Pinini* (Fernando Peña Soto), *Joaquín El de La Paula* (José Fernández Torres), *Manolo Caracol* (Manuel Ortega Juárez), *Terremoto* (Fernando Fernández Monje), *Antonio Mairena* (Antonio Cruz García), *El Sordera* (Manuel Soto Monje), *El Mellizo* (Enrique Jiménez Fernández), *Manolito El de María* (Manuel Fernández Cruz), *Paco la Luz* (Francisco Valencia), *Parrilla de Jerez* (Manuel Fernández Molina), *El Chozas* (Juan José Vargas Vargas), *El Chocolate* (Antonio Nuñez Montoya), *El Agujeta* (Manuel de los

Santos), *Manuel Morao* (Manuel Moreno Jiménez), son of *El Morao* (Manuel Moreno de Soto y Monje), *José Mercé* (José Soto Soto), *Camarón de la Isla* (José Monje Cruz), etc. etc. This brief list already reveals many family links, the Ariadne's thread of an inextricably tangled genealogical skein.

The case of these Gypsy-Andalusian families, doubly "flamenco" (in the literal sense of "Flemish" [that is, Gypsy - see section 4 above], and as the stock whence flamenco artists spring), should serve to put an end to the interminable squabbles - usually of a racist bent - which persistently rock the little world of flamenco. The existence of these families and their enormous contribution to the art are difficult to dispute. Their members include not only a good number of the great interpreters of the present day, but also the majority of the great creative talents of the past. Moreover, the fact that they comprise a numerically small, geographically limited group should win over even the most intolerant of the anti-Gypsy lobby.

In effect, then, at the outset it was not Spanish Gypsies in general who were involved in the flamenco phenomenon, although this has subsequently tended to spread throughout a very large proportion of the Gypsy community, for whom it has become a sort of ethnic music. "Andalusianists" point out, not without justification, that there are Gypsies all over the world, but that flamenco appeared only in Andalusia. We could go further : only in a small part of Andalusia, limited, as we have seen, to the lower valley of the Guadalquivir, with two eastward extensions towards Cádiz and Morón. We can apply the same argument to emphasise that the phenomenon was not initially a generally Andalusian one, either, although it has demonstrated - indeed, continues to demonstrate - extraordinary powers of diffusion. Flamenco is an essentially Andalusian phenomenon, but this is not to say that all Andalusians accept it or identify with it - from from it. Once again, we are dealing with a family affair, and even if the flamenco family today has branches all over the planet, it is nonetheless a single, great family.

Gypsy dancer near Seville. - Engraving by Gustave Doré.

IV. The Obscure Origins of Flamenco Art

1. Successful Transculturation

What came to pass within these few Gypsy-Andalusian families, capriciously dubbed *Flamencos* because some of them possessed service records and Privileges attesting to outstanding service in the Flemish campaigns, these odd families so convolutedly interwoven that in the end they constitute a single entity? To understand this we must go back in time, back to the ancient folklore and popular music of which Gypsies were, for so long, the main or even quasi exclusive professional performers. We must also consider the slow cultural osmosis which occurred in those localities where, thanks to their various activities, these families were perfectly integrated. We are dealing, in fact, with a phenomenon of acculturation or, more precisely, of *transculturation*, since the contact of two musical cultures, the Gypsy and the Andalusian, gave rise to a third, utterly novel form : flamenco. Andalusia is not, as we know, the only place where such a process occurred, but the incomparable character of flamenco probably springs from the extraordinary richness of the Andalusian heritage and the fact that this bears a far greater affinity with the Oriental traditions of the Gypsy people than would be the case in other Western countries.

2. Gypsies' Professional Music

Initially the Gypsies contented themselves with reproducing, as faithfully as possible, local styles for a local audience. Needless to say, this fidelity did not preclude a certain adaptation to the musical conventions and interpretation characteristic of Gypsies all over the world to some degree. Any music heard and reproduced by a Gypsy performer instantly acquires a distinctive tone, a "colouring" : it is somehow "Gypsified". This is how traditional Spanish song styles like the *seguidilla*, the *villancico* (Christmas carol) and the *romance* (ballad) gradually acquired the qualifying adjective, "Gypsy". When these styles, corresponding to the repertoire normally performed by Gypsies in the streets and market-places during local festivals, came to be adapted for the theatre, the staging instructions nearly always specify that they are to be interpreted "in the Gypsy manner". This tells us that *Payo* imitations of "Gypsy" or "pseudo-Gypsy" music and dance go back a long, long way.

3. Gypsy Ballads

Gypsies were also to play an important role in the conservation of musical genres which would otherwise have died out. Ever quick to take on the latest musical fashion and remodel it in their own image, their loyalty to tradition was equally strong. A 19th century observer, Estébanez Calderón, mentions them as the last remaining performers of the very ancient *zarabanda.* As the ballad-sheets once hawked from village to village by blind pedlars gradually disappeared, the Gypsies were to preserve their precious contents, using them only when celebrating amongst themselves, or to lull their babies to sleep : Pepe, the brother of the great *cantaor* (flamenco singer) Manuel Torre, remembered hearing their grandfather singing the ballads *Bernardo del Carpio* and *Gerineldo* as lullabies (*nanas**). The length and somewhat monotonous style of these ancient songs lent them naturally to this adaptation. Thus a Puerto de Santa María Gypsy, Dolores Juárez de la O, better known as *Dolores La del Cepillo*, detached the central portion from a famous ballad, *Las hermanas reina y cautiva* (The Sisters Queen and Captive) - which is in effect a lullaby included in the narrative - to transform it into a true *nana* :

Ea, ea, la ea...
Hija mía de mi alma
y también del almita mía,
que si te cogiera yo a ti en España
que yo a ti te cristianaría
y por nombre te pusiera
que y Anita de Alejandría,
que así se llamaba tu mare
y una tiíta que a ti te mecía...
(See *Magna Antología del Cante Flamenco*, Hispavox, S/C. 66.201)

"Sleep, my baby, sleep...
My daughter of my heart
And of my little soul too,
If I could bring you with me to Spain
I would make a Christian of you
And I would give you as your name
Anita of Alexandria,
For that was your mother's name
And the name of the auntie who rocked you to sleep..."

The use of *romances* in family celebrations, and in particular at Gypsy weddings, is equally evident in the following version of an *alboreá* (wedding song), sung by Manuel de los Santos Gallardo (*Agujéta el Viejo*), in which scraps of *romances fronterizos* (ballads on relations with the Moors at the time of the reconquest of Spain) intermingle with traditional Gypsy wedding themes (here, the bride's crown and the formula generally employed to evoke the satisfaction felt by her father) :

El rey moro con la paz
¡qué bien ha queao!
toíta tu gente t'han coronao,
pues dile que entre, se calentará
porque en esta tierra no hay cariá.

"The Moorish king with peace
How lucky he is!
Your whole family has crowned him.
Well, tell him to come in; let him warm himself
For in this country there is no charity."

Of course, the *romances* have not been preserved by Gypsies alone. The latest audio anthology, edited by José Manuel Gil under the title *Romancero Panhispánico* (1992) brings together a hundred or so

collected from the various regions of Spain as well as from Sephardic communities throughout the world. It is interesting to observe how these different versions, nearly all of them sung, are influenced by the musical styles of the regions in which they are performed. Among the Eastern Jews, Greek and Turkish influences are very apparent, while in the Castilian regions the melody is rudimentary, often close to recitation - but Gypsy versions stand out from all others in their typically flamenco approach. This should not surprise us, but if we carefully compare two versions of a single traditional *romance*, one collected from the *Payo* (non-Gypsy) oral tradition, the other among Gypsies, we instantly remark the characteristic traits with which the latter have, quite unconsciously, transformed the original melody. In fact what we are dealing with, in this little experiment, is the genesis of a new genre arising from interpretative distortion of the old.

This experiment is significant in more ways than one, for the *romance*, recorded as part of the Gypsy repertoire from the 16th century, is today considered the oldest of the flamenco song styles. Its features, and in particular its length, have prevented its commercialisation, confining it - as we have seen - to private occasions. Thanks to these circumstances, it has evolved very little - at any rate far less than the other flamenco *palos* (styles) - and serves to bear witness to the most archaic stages of the *cante* (flamenco song). The *romances* appear to be the source of the *tonás**, those supremely original unaccompanied songs from which almost all the others probably derive.

4. The Case of the *Seguiriya**

The knottiest problem is posed by the *seguiriyas* (or *siguiriyas*), whose name is simply the Gypsy-Andalusian pronunciation of *seguidilla*, mentioned above, as it already figured in the Gypsy professional repertoire as far back as the 17th century, and perhaps even earlier. The *seguidilla* is probably among the most ancient of the sung dances of the Iberian peninsula, because stanzas constructed in the same form - four alternate lines of seven and five syllables, perhaps followed by a tercet - are to be found again in the Mozarabic* *kharjas** (or *jarchas**), which sometimes terminate *muwashshah**, Arabo-Andalusian poems dating back to the 11th century. Its longevity is astonishing, for it continues to stir the passions even today in the form of the *sevillanas*, Seville-style *seguidillas* which have spread throughout Spain and beyond.

The *seguiriya*, as it is usually written, takes both its name and its metric form from the *seguidilla*. The only difference is that the third line (of quatrains) or the second (of tercets) has eleven or twelve syllables instead of seven, as if a supplementary five-syllable line had been appended. These literary comparisons lose much of their relevance when we note that the sung *copla* (stanza) bears only a distant relation to the written form characterising *belles lettres* poetry. A concrete example will illustrate the point. Here is a classic *seguiriya* in its conventional written form :

Una noche oscurita
a eso de las dos
le daba voces a la mare de mi alma
no me respondió.

"Darkest night
Two in the morning
I cried out to my darling mother
There was no reply."

Here, by contrast, is how Pastora Pavón, known as *Niña de los Peines*, interpreted this *copla*, with great vocal gaps filled by the guitar, heaving sighs, abrupt stops (sometimes right in the middle of a word) and numerous melismata (melodic prolongations of the sung vowel, here indicated by an accent) :

aaāī	Le dābā vocēs
.....	.....
aaa-ī-i-i, una nochē oscuritā	le daba voces a la mare dē mi arma, nō/
.....	ō me re/
ā eso de/	espondió.
e las dos	Voces le daba a mi mare dē mi arma dē/
a esō dē las dōs, ā eso de/	mi co/
e las dōs.	orazón.
.....	

Clearly this sung version is no longer susceptible to literary analysis, for its strophic divisions, entirely determined by the rhythm of the melody and the performer's breath control, no longer correspond to the meaning of the words. The metre and the words themselves explode,

swept away in a shattering wail broken with sobs. In effect an inexplicable gulf has formed between the *seguidilla*, as light and carefree in its musical form as in its lyrics, and the sublime, dramatic, heart-rending *seguiriya*.

At the close of the 18th century a foreign visitor, Henry Swinburne, noted that the Gypsies of Spain still danced and sang the joyful traditional *seguidillas* :

> "Both sexes are equally skilled at the dance, and they sing *seguidillas* in a manner gay or tender that is particular to them."

Not long afterwards, flamenco was to spring up abruptly among the Gypsy families of Lower Andalusia. One of the jewels of this sombre and tormented art was to be the *seguiriya*, of which Ricardo Molina (see bibliography) very aptly says :

> "The *seguiriya* is the cry of a man mortally wounded by destiny. It can express only profound emotion, radical affliction, the tragedy of the human condition."

So what occurred in the time between these two quotations? The name has not changed, or at any rate not much, nor has the metric form - but the melody and lyrical genre are utterly transformed. The *seguidilla* is a gay and carefree ditty to accompany the dance. Its themes, melodies and accompaniment to a three-beat measure are typical of Spanish folklore. There is nothing surprising about this : musical styles of this sort are always present in folklore, and the Gypsies of long ago interpreted them in response to the demands of their local audience. The *seguidilla* was part of their professional activities, nothing more.

5. The Gypsy Ethos

The transformation worked upon this folkish mould was singular indeed. The light air became "deep song", a shriek straight from the gut, tinged with the bitter taste of blood. The fate - nearly always tragic, as we have seen - of the Gypsy community, its sufferings and atavistic anguish, here find direct expression. The Gypsy singer/guitarist Pedro Peña once said :

> "You know how to express the song when you're carrying the pain of centuries with you. The Gypsy who knows how to do this gets it from his ancestors... These are real experiences which have accumulated within him... He suffers them; he lives them; he remembers all his own."

The folkloric melody - very measured, very syllabic, in a word, very Western - of the *seguidilla* has mysteriously mutated into a long Eastern chant without limit or measure, with no break between tones, with a great unity of breath and silences rendered palpable thanks to the poetic wand of Lorca :

> Listen, my son, to the silence.
> It is a rippled silence,
> a silence
> where echoes and valleys glide
> and which turns faces
> towards the earth.

Finally, in place of the three-beat measure of the waltz, the fandango, or the *seguidilla*, the guitar accompaniment unfolds on twelve-beat rhythmic sequences comparable to those of Indian *ràgas*. All the ingredients of Oriental modal music are brought together here, including that singular correspondence known as the *ethos* or *modal sentiment* which links each style with a particular time of day or emotion. This is how Pedro Peña describes it, instinctively, without making reference to other musical cultures :

> "The *soleá* is the song from midnight to one in the morning, when you feel good, when your spirit is still calm and the tears aren't yet brimming at the corners of your eyes. The *soleá* is for feeling fine! The *seguiriya*, by contrast, is for two or three in the morning. Your pain is right up at the surface, you've got to lance it. It's a confession. The *tonás* and the *martinetes** are for the dawn, and they crown the lot : they give you goosebumps and make your hair stand on end!"

"Gypsi" - Lithograph by A. Mouilleron.

6. The Secrets of Invention

What we are dealing with here is in fact a wholly alternative concept, a different musical universe, and the preceding paragraphs should suffice to demonstrate that the *seguidilla* and the *seguiriya* have nothing whatever in common except the similarity of their names. In this particular case we must conclude that the Gypsies abandoned the ditty aimed at tourists and the idly curious, to reinvent a music forged in their own image, for their own use.

How was this possible? The phenomenon must be examined in context, in the long process of acculturation which forced these families - under detailed legislation backed by heavy penal sanctions, as we have seen - to renounce their language, costume, and virtually everything that made up their culture. The 1663 law even targeted music and dance - but it is very difficult to keep a Gypsy from singing for himself and those close to him, in the intimacy of his own hearth, particularly if he does so in the language of the majority - soon to be the only one left to him. Let us bear in mind that these *"Flamenco"* families, so well integrated into their Andalusian villages, were the first to send their children to school and their women to Mass, to pay their taxes, to dress and talk like everyone else... but perhaps not to sing like everyone else! The musicologist A. Larrea Palacín has formulated a hypothesis stipulating that while language is constantly evolving, melodies may survive almost intact over millennia, and that this may give rise to divergence between words and music. This is how he explains the tendency of flamenco song, observed above in Niña de los Peines' interpretation of a *seguiriya*, to destroy the logical order of the text and break the metrical structure of the stanza.

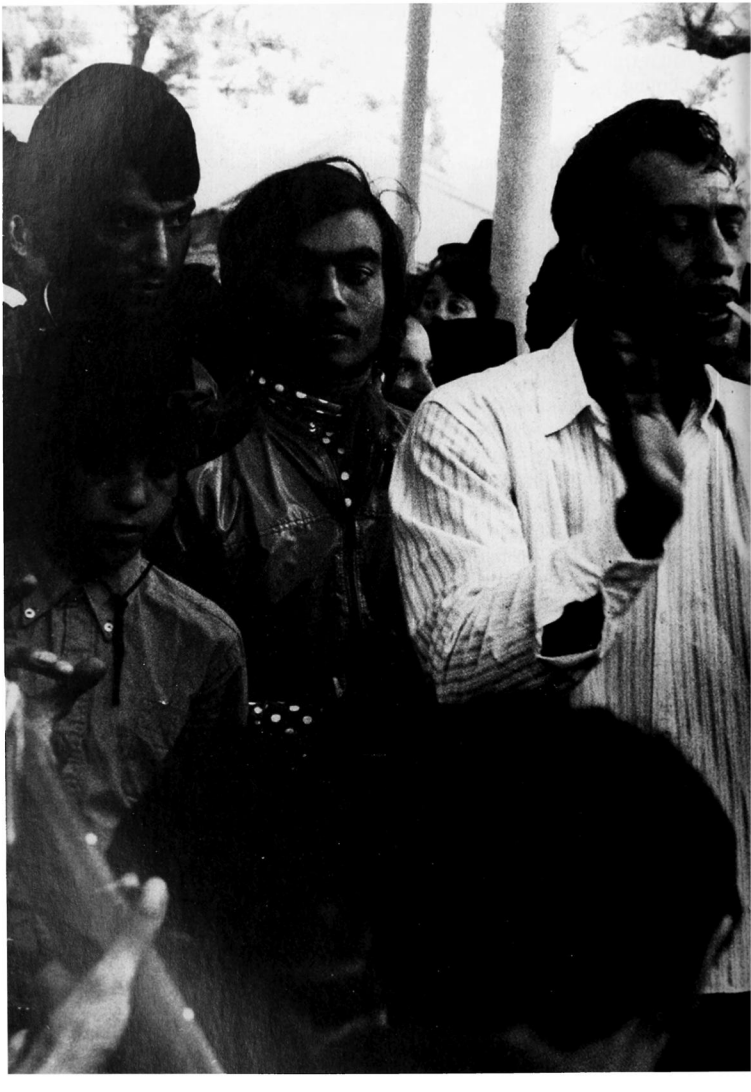
Another, equally logical, hypothesis suggests a very simple explanation for this phenomenon. In this case we need no longer imagine a lengthy process of evolution, but a transformation realised in a relatively short period of time : the acculturation of an oppressed minority. A community may be dispossessed of its original culture in the space of a couple of generations, as the Gypsies, among many other groups, amply prove. By contrast, musical expression - rooted in the blood, the Gypsies would tell us - is far more difficult to eradicate. In practice what happens when a Gypsy sings verses borrowed from a culture other than his own and in a language imposed by law, but with an ear and ancestral melodies carried with him from the Orient, is the superimposition of two incompatible cultural frameworks, an encounter resulting in a sort of explosion.

How are these diametrically opposed musical traditions - one in which the melody is slavishly dependent on a text which is in turn imprisoned in a rigorously codified metrical mould, the other where the voice, while bound by other codes, seems as free as a breath of wind, and where the text is shattered and dissolved in Eastern melismata - to be reconciled? How the Gypsies have come to square this circle is the sorrowful tale of their acculturation; they have unconsciously reconciled the irreconcilable in a song-form born of the brutal encounter of East and West on Andalusian soil.

7. The Case of the *Vlax* Rom of Hungary

This sort of phenomenon is not unique to Andalusia, and the case of the musical styles of the Gypsies of Hungary offers intriguing analogies. At first glance the situation on the banks of the Danube appears less complex than that in the valley of the Guadalquivir. Professional musicians there - who, as we saw in Chapter I, perform a range of hybrid styles all classed as *"Gypsy"* - belong to the group called *Romungro* (Hungarian Gypsy) established in the country since the 15th century, were forced into sedentarism under conditions very similar to those imposed on their cousins in Spain, and speak Hungarian as their usual language. Gypsies of the second group, whom the Hungarians call *Kolompar* or *Vlax* (Wallachian), arrived more recently from Romania; they may be nomadic, or semi-nomadic, and they usually sing in the Gypsy language (*Romani*). Their music, performed solely within the group itself, is limited to two genres. There is song proper, known as *loki gili* or *loki djili* ("slow song"), in which two categories are distinguishable : short lyric stanzas similar to Andalusian *coplas*, and narrative ballads comparable to the *romances*; and there is music to accompany the dance : *khelimaski gili**, almost purely vocal but usually wordless, characterised by a rhythmic use of the voice, termed *bögö** or *szaj bögö**. This strange technique, not unlike the use of *bol* syllables in the *tāla* (rhythmic part) of Indian *dhrupad* music, provides a link with certain *jaleo* techniques, the distinctive cries uttered in highly rhythmic sequences to accompany flamenco dancing. Formerly the preserve of festivities within the *Vlax* Rom community itself, these styles have, in the last couple of years, been adapted and launched on the international scene by Hungarian groups like *Kalyi Jag* and *Ando Drom*.

But to get back to the *loki gili*, which from the point of view of melody is a sort of Oriental "long song" : some of its peculiarities have long



intrigued those Hungarian musicologists who have devoted their attentions to it. Hungarian interest in traditional Gypsy music styles, alien to their own folklore yet often in symbiosis with it, goes back to Liszt and Bartók. Nearer to our own times, in the 1950's, a team comprising musicologists Kamill Erdös, André Hajdu and József Vekerdi, began the task of isolating the original - the *non-European* - characteristics of this music. Obviously this work was likely to highlight traits possibly shared with flamenco.

8. Gypsy Music and Flamenco

There are quite a number of such traits, since we are dealing in both cases with an Oriental concept of music. It seems logical to begin by eliminating those shared with surrounding musical styles and which cannot, therefore, be assigned with precision to any single one of them. Hajdu identified monodic conception, a predominance of free rhythm (called *rubato* by European musicians), a general descending tendency in the melodic line, and the modal aspect, as broad characteristics shared by all these music styles of Oriental origin.

Everyone who has studied the "slow song" (*loki gili*) of the Hungarian Rom in detail has been struck by the same peculiarities : the fact that, in lyric song, the stanzas do not constitute a logical sequence with regard to meaning (which is equally true in the *coplas* of flamenco song), and the fundamental severance of melody and lyrics (as observed above with regard to the *seguiriya*). In order to break the metric structure of the stanza - which, as in flamenco, is often a quatrain of short (octosyllabic, sometimes hexasyllabic) lines - the Rom use various forms of "padding": extra syllables, interjections, a range of exclamations at the beginning and/or end of lines, as well as the strange and most remarkable device of breaking off in the middle of a word, particularly in the penultimate syllable of the final line of each stanza, where they are accompanied by a very characteristic melodic formula in the finale.

Musicologists insist that these particularities are not to be found in any form of Central European music except Gypsy singing. We therefore appear to be dealing with unique characteristics, definitive ones, a sort of signature which will enable us to identify and authenticate this music.

Curiously, we are currently witnessing signs of interference between the musical styles of the *Vlax* Rom, for private use, and the professional,

so-called *Gypsy* music traditionally performed by the *Romungro* group. Thus, for example, vocal rhythms of the *bögö* type have been introduced into instrumental *csardas* music and, above all, we observe that popular song in the so-called *Gypsy* style, sung in Hungarian, is rigorously modelled on the melodic schema of the *loki gili*, with its characteristic pause on the penultimate syllable and its formulaic finale.

9. The Gypsy Signature

Perhaps the strangest fact of all is that these singular traits characterising the music of the Gypsies of Hungary are also to be found - in equal isolation from surrounding musical convention - in the purest and most archaic song styles of the flamenco repertoire : the *tonás*, some *seguiriyas*, and "primitive" *soleares**, where the final break-off is often anticipated on the second or even third syllable before the last. With the exception of certain *alboreás* (wedding songs) of the Cádiz region, these traits are to be found neither in other flamenco song styles, nor in Andalusian folklore. Thus music styles as geographically distant and at first glance as different as the *loki gili* of Hungary and the *toná* of Andalusia manifest extremely tantalising structural analogies. A written illustration does not convey this as strikingly as an audio one would do, but may suffice to give some idea of the phenomenon :

A) Loki gili (performed by Mihaly Varadi, Kotaj village)

	Rat'enca na sō/vav	
o ke	*numa sa gindīnav;*	ke jaj!
aj!	*sa pal odī gindīj,*	jaj!
ke mama	*so džāno te kēr/av?*	
	I cannot sleep the whole night long,	
oh!	*for I do nothing but think;*	kay, aïe!
aïe!	*I'm all the time thinking,*	aïe!
what, Mama,	*what am I going to do?*	

B) Toná (debla performed by Antonio Mairena)

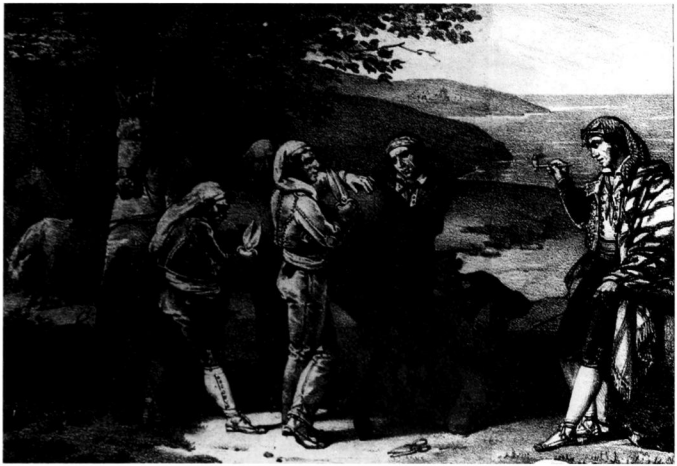
Ay!	*En el barriō / de Triana,*	
	se escuchabā en alta vōz :	
	- Pena de la viā tiene	¡ay qué!
	to aquel que sea Cā/ló.	
Aïe!	*In the Triana barrio,*	
	A voice was loudly heard :	
	- They are condemned to death	aïe, kay!
all	*those who are Gypsy.*	

The "padding" - which we have transcribed to the side of the lyrics proper - occurs at the beginning and end of the lines of each stanza or *copla*. It is most copious in the Romani version, but we note a number of similarities, for example *ke jaj!* (A) - *¡ay qué!* (B). In both instances the break-offs or pauses are situated in the first and final lines. In the latter case they appear almost systematically in one of the final syllables; in both cases, the pause is followed by a reprise of the preceding vowel and of the same melodic formula in the finale. These can be transcribed as follows :

A) kē/../erav
B) cā/../aló

10. The Anti-Gypsy Polemic

These technical details may appear insignificant. In fact their rarity, or more properly speaking their total absence from the surrounding musical environments of both the *loki gili* and flamenco, and the extreme precision of the traits shared by the two genres, makes them much more than simple coincidences. In the climate of intolerance, at times even of racial hatred, which regularly splits the flamenco world around interminable squabblings, they take on a symbolic significance. It is current conventional wisdom to assert - contrary to all the evidence - that the Gypsies had nothing whatever to do with creating flamenco; this is the line taken by self-styled "Andalusianists", who think they insult their opponents by dubbing them "Gypsyists". The very terms are misleading, since the Gypsy families in question are also - as we have seen - Andalusian, sometimes more so than their detractors. Didn't Lorca



Gypsy sheep-shearers. Lithograph by Villain.

explain that he chose to christen his celebrated *Romancero* as Gypsy, precisely because, for him, the Gypsy was the most representative constituent of Andalusia?

> "The book as a whole, though entitled "Gypsy", is the poem of Andalusia. I have called it Gypsy because the Gypsy epitomises the loftiest, the most profound, the most aristocratic characteristics of my country; he is the most representative of its way of living, the keeper of the flame, the blood, and the alphabet of a truth both Andalusian and universal."

While it is legitimate for non-Gypsy Andalusians to lay equal claim to flamenco with the Gypsy-Andalusian community, there is little glory in asserting that Gypsies cannot have contributed to its formation on account of their limited creativity, absence of poetic ability, etc. etc.

The argument is nearly as old as the flamenco genre itself, but has taken on a particularly dogmatic tone from the 1950's onwards, in particular with the declaration of Tomás Andrade da Silva, Professor at the Royal Conservatory of Music, Madrid, on the occasion of the launch, in 1954, of the first *Anthology of Flamenco Song* :

> "On the other hand there are no longer grounds for attributing a gypsy origin to the basic songs of flamenco : *it has now been established* that, with a few insignificant exceptions, the gypsies have never done anything more - although, when all is said and done, it is a great deal - than to lend certain Andalusian airs the stamp of their inimitable personality, by interpreting them with a genius so authentic that we can well speak of a process of re-creation."

The formula "*it has now been established that....*" is worth emphasising since it is presented as proof in and of itself, with no reference to evidence of any kind and no basis save the personal convictions of the author. One could compile a fair-sized book just by sticking assertions of this sort end to end - assertions which, despite their perpetrators' academic qualifications, demonstrate nothing but their basic ignorance of several precise points.

Others were to go further, putting forward the equation : *Gypsies steal chickens* = *Gypsies steal music*, denying Gypsies any contribution save their performance. It should be noted that the same controversies and arguments have been going the rounds in Hungary since the time of Liszt and Bartók, and that certain contemporary musicologists do not hesitate to assert, not only that the Gypsies have never invented anything, but that they are, moreover, very mediocre musicians.

11. Flamenco Literature and Racial Prejudice

At this point it is time to set the record straight on a couple of points. It is obvious that not all Gypsies, nor indeed all Andalusian Gypsies, are musical geniuses. It is equally clear that flamenco could only have come into being in Andalusia, and it would be absurd to expect to see it arising spontaneously in the suburbs of Vienna or Warsaw! On the other hand, there are now enough demonstrative arguments and formal musicological evidence available to easily refute those who claim, for example, that when the Gypsies arrived in Europe in the 15th century they possessed no musical tradition of their own at all, or that they are utterly incapable of the slightest artistic creativity.

It is evident that the majority of writers - among whom musicologists are a tiny minority - who have contributed to the enormous bibliography currently available on the subject of flamenco, have had little if any knowledge of Gypsy music elsewhere. Some of them had heard of the

"professional" music played in Central Europe, like the instrumental music played in Hungarian cabarets and known as "Gypsy music", and which obviously has nothing in common with the vocal music of Andalusia, known as *flamenco*. None of them were aware of the existence of the private repertoire of non-professional Gypsy musicians, discussed above, whence their conviction that Gypsies in general are limited to imitating local musical styles, have no musical tradition of their own, and are consequently incapable of creativity in this field.

As we know, ignorance is the root of all racial prejudice. It is ignorance which has given rise to diametrically opposed attitudes towards the Gypsies, attitudes which have become indissociable and complementary : attraction and repulsion, fascination and hatred. Ignorance is what attributes them with dissolute morals - a very revealing error, for those familiar with the rigidity of their moral code - and has charged them with every human crime from the abduction of children to cannibalism. It is ignorance, too, which idealises and mythologises them until they come to be seen as the survivors of a lost paradise of natural harmony, *joie de vivre* and unbounded freedom. These contradictory myths have coexisted from the very start, and survive to the present day. They mask reality to such a degree that we persist in our ignorance of a whole community we live alongside and bump into daily on the streets.

12. Gypsy Andalusia and *Payo** Andalusia

In the case of flamenco and Andalusia the problem is complex and cannot always be attributed to simple racism. At the heart of what we may call "the cradle of flamenco", at Jerez de la Frontera and in the many little villages in this part of Lower Andalusia, the genre is essentially Gypsy, with a handful of exceptions. The most celebrated of these was Antonio Chacón, of unknown parentage but adopted by a *Payo* cobbler who bequeathed him his name and did his best to discourage a precocious bent for an art-form all too often disparaged because of its origins. Chacón's models were Gypsy artists like Enrique "El Mellizo" and Curro Durse, as well as another *Payo* of genius, Silverío Franconetti (b. 1839), whose compelling passion for the *cante*, contracted at a Gypsy forge in Morón, was also discouraged by his father, an Italian serving in the Spanish Army. In a nutshell, flamenco in, for example, Jerez is a Gypsy phenomenon, and a family affair. Virtually all of today's singers come from famous artistic "dynasties" or can point to flamenco antecedents (professional or otherwise) as far back as the memory of

their lineage goes. All claim to bear the seeds of their art in their veins, that this particularity is recognised by their fellow citizens, and that they have never encountered the slightest hint of racism in their own region.

Once we start to move away from this most favoured region of Gypsy song, we come across more and more *Payo* (non-Gypsy) performers amateur and professional, and, whether we travel in the direction of Huelva or of Málaga, the influence of Andalusian folklore becomes more and more pronounced, and the singing style is noticeably transformed. Between these two schools - the Gypsy one of Lower Andalusia and the *Payo* one around its periphery - there is a sometimes total absence of mutual understanding, each vehemently insisting that it alone gave birth to flamenco music as a whole.

13. The Origins Debate

Most misunderstandings are linked to the question of flamenco's origins and antiquity. We know that this singular art first emerged as recently as the 19th century; all the evidence agrees on this point, but that does not stop some from asserting that it has been practised on Andalusian soil from time immemorial. To give a concrete example, the birth of the Cádiz *alegrías** can be dated with a fair degree of precision, since we know the historical circumstances (the aftermath of the War of Independence, 1808-1814) under which the form arose, and even the names of its principal originators (all from the second half of the 19th century). In spite of this, some amateur antiquarians have not hesitated to claim that the celebrated dancers of Cádiz, praised by Martial and Juvenal in the 1st century A.D., were performing to *alegría* airs.

This line of thought could go right back to the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Tarsis or Tartessus, located in the Guadalquivir region between the 12th and 6th centuries B.C., if successive invaders - Phoenicians, Greeks and Carthaginians - had left us any details about their music. It is more than likely that the Tartessians had some sort of music of their own; one can even suppose that it would have been exposed to Eastern influences and that some of these characteristics would have become integral to Andalusian folklore - but nothing gives us grounds for assuming that this bore any resemblance to present-day flamenco.

Authors grappling with the question of the origins of flamenco do not generally go quite so far back, but they have (quite naturally) made

reference to most of the musical cultures present in Andalusia in the period for which we have historical records : the Arabs, Jews, even the Byzantines*. The Gypsies' role has been emphasised by some, minimised or actively denied by others. As for the Africans - who were a very strong presence in the region during the 16th and 17th centuries - they are almost completely overlooked.

14. The Jewish Theory

The theory of Jewish influence on flamenco music, put forward in 1930 by Medina Azara in the *Revista de Occidente*, was very effectively refuted by Hipólito Rossy in his book *Teoría del Cante Jondo* (1966). The analogies Azara draws between certain Jewish religious songs and the *saetas** of Andalusian processions are entirely without foundation, since the examples cited are very modern creations, in particular the *saeta* of Manuel Centeno, adapted to the *seguiriya* model. Moreover all one need do is to listen to Sephardic songs, transmitted up to the present day among the descendants of the Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 - and in particular their versions of *romances* - to observe that these have nothing whatever in common with flamenco.

15. The Byzantine Theory

The Byzantine theory, formulated by the Catalan musician and musicologist Felip Pedrell and taken up by Manuel de Falla, seems to be based on confusion between the Byzantine liturgy and the early Spanish rite known as the *Hispanic* or sometimes the *Mozarabic** liturgy. One way or another, this particular rite, abolished by Pope Gregory VI in the 11th century, was not reconstructed until Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros took on the task some four hundred years later. When we take into account that the liturgy was written down in *neumes* - simple aides-mémoire to facilitate oral transmission - we have grounds for doubting the fidelity of the reconstruction, let alone the reservations one might hold regarding the influence of such a rite on totally secular music that would not make an appearance until the 19th century. As for de Falla's 1922 reiteration of Pedrell's Byzantine references - this must be seen in context. What the great Andalusian musician was attempting to do, at the time, was to persuade the Grenada authorities to finance the first ever *cante jondo** competition. What better way than by convincing

them that this music, so reviled and vilified by the generation of 1898*, might be of noble origin and thus merit rehabilitation?

This line of thought was obviously also an attempt to explain the clearly Oriental traits of this Andalusian style, namely its modal, enharmonic character and its distinctive long, unmeasured singing. The Byzantine liturgy - derived from the Syrian modal system - might very well have something to do with it, but why not turn to the more obvious candidate? Arabic music was played on Andalusian soil for over seven hundred years.

16. Arabic Music

On this particular point de Falla once again follows his mentor, Felip Pedrell, according to whom Spanish music owes nothing at all to the Arabs who, by contrast, were greatly influenced by Spain. In connection with this he mentions a number of points common to the so-called *Arabo-Andalusian** music of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia on the one hand, and to some folk and popular music styles in Andalusia itself on the other.

Without re-opening the whole debate, it is clear that musical influences in *Al Andalus* (Muslim Andalusia) operated in both directions. The Arabic poetic form known as *muwashshah* terminates in a refrain or popular couplet known as a *kharja* (in Spanish, *jarcha*), which was widely borrowed from indigenous folklore and written in a Romance language - Mozarabic - sprinkled with Arabic words. These *kharja* or *jarchas* offer eloquent testimony of the bilingualism of Muslim Andalusia and the musical exchanges that were a daily occurrence there. It is difficult to imagine that the author/composers of these great poems made for singing - the *muwashshah* - could have borrowed the words of their final stanza - the *kharja* - without also taking the music on board.

One of the most vivid traces of this exchange between Arabic music and Andalusian folklore is still visible - and above all audible - today, when we put an Arabo-Andalusian band from Morocco side by side with a *panda de verdiales**, one of the little folk ensembles from Málaga province. The same elements are to be found in both : metallic percussion in the form of rattles or small cymbals, a type of drum known as *duff* in Arabic and as *pandero* or *adufe* in Spanish, lutes played by plucking

the strings (*'ud* in Arabic, *laud* in Spanish), fiddles which in both cases have replaced an ancient bow instrument (known as *rebab* in Arabic, *rabel* in Spanish), not to mention the guitars on the Spanish side. In both cases the singing style is highly syllabic and very far removed from the long melismatic wail characteristic of flamenco.

Certainly, as we have seen, there are concurrences between Andalusian and Arabic music, but these must logically be sought in the vestiges of the traditions that rubbed shoulders between the 7th and the 15th centuries : in other words, in the Arabo-Andalusian music of the Maghreb and in the most archaic folklore of Andalusia - the *verdiales**, for example. If, by contrast, later Arabic musical forms (which reached North Africa from Iran and Iraq via Egypt) and flamenco (which, it must be borne in mind, came into being in Lower Andalusia in the 19th century) exhibit analogies *absent from Andalusian folklore*, some other factor must have intervened. Despite the precautions de Falla had to take in the course of his 1922 oratory before the Grenada authorities, he does not hesitate to identify Gypsies as the linking element :

> "And it is these tribes, coming - according to the historical hypothesis - from the Orient, who in our opinion gave Andalusian song the new modality which constitutes the *cante jondo* ..."

17. de Falla's Demonstration

A little further on de Falla analyses, with great musicological precision, the shared traits of flamenco and Eastern music, in a long section entitled *Coincidences with the Primitive Song Forms of the Orient.* Here, curiously enough, there is no further reference to the Byzantines or Arabs (and anyway the author has already given us both his own and Pedrell's opinion on this latter point), but only to *the Orient* and more precisely to *India*. Here is how the first sentence formulates the issue :

> "The essential elements of the *cante jondo* exhibit the following analogies with some song forms of India and other peoples of the Orient."

A few lines further on de Falla repeats his allusion to "primitive styles of India". India, the Gypsies' place of origin, is thus his main focus, and the purpose of the exposé is to demonstrate, with a wealth of technological detail, Gypsy input into the development of the art form

which he and Frederico García Lorca call *cante jondo* and which we simply call flamenco. He develops the following five points, in this order :

1) Enharmony as a means of modulation. This comprises the alteration of certain notes of the scale, and more generally the use of intervals of less than a demi-tone to modulate, that is, to pass from one key to another. In other words, de Falla here refers to the non-measurable aspect of the Eastern long chant as opposed to the tempered scale employed in the Occident.

2) We recognise as proper to the cante jondo the use of a melodic ambitus which rarely exceeds the limits of a sixth. de Falla points out here that the sixth in question is not, of course, limited to the nine half-notes of the tempered scale.

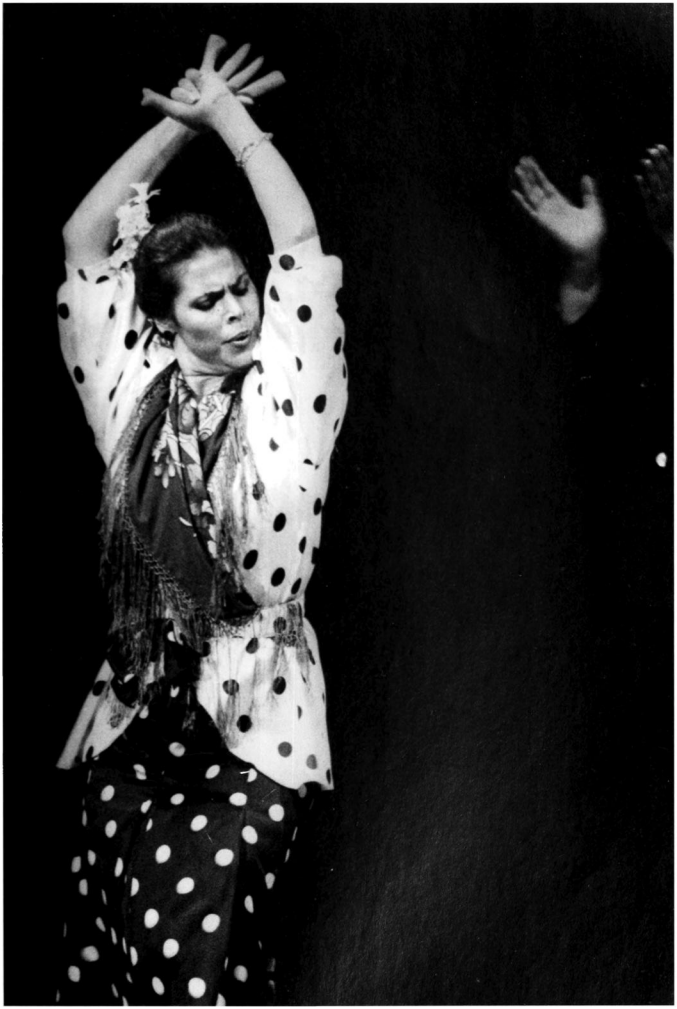
3) The repeated, almost obsessive use of a single note, frequently accompanied by higher and lower appoggiatura. de Falla adds that, thanks to this process, all sensation of metric rhythm comes to disappear. We have already seen, in the example of the *seguiriya*, how the structure of a stanza of verse may dissolve into the melody.

4) While Gypsy melody, like primitive Oriental song styles, is rich in ornamentation, this is employed only at points where the emotive force of the lyric provokes expansion or exaltation.

5) The shouts used by our people to encourage or excite the dancers and guitarists have their origin in the custom still to be seen in similar circumstances among races of Oriental origin.

18. Current Knowledge

Posterity took from de Falla only what it wanted to hear. It remembered the Byzantines and Arabs, and strove to relegate the Gypsy contribution to one of simple interpretation. The arguments outlined above were ignored or rejected out of hand, doubtless because they were too technical or simply too "pro-Gypsy". This is why over the ensuing three quarters of a century all published works on flamenco cover the same old themes, repeat the same clichés, often reiterate the same errors, without troubling to critically examine or offer evidence in support of their basic hypotheses, accepted as immutable dogmatic truths.



The origins of flamenco seem likely to remain shrouded in mystery for some time to come, due to the circumstances surrounding its gestation and musicologists' unwillingness to tackle the question. As long as the only efforts made in this field have as their sole aim the ruthless elimination of a given community from the competition, there is no chance of our knowledge progressing. The various points outlined above are nothing much, merely a stocktaking of our current knowledge. Yet despite their limitations they do enable us to identify the essential points of the problem. These are :

1 - Neither the Byzantines nor the Jews had much to do with flamenco.

2 - The issue of Arabic influences is far from resolved. A process of exchange between Arabic music and the popular music of Andalusia took place over more than seven centuries of Muslim presence in the region, and its legacy is still perceptible today in what remains of the primitive *muwashshah* even after centuries of oral transmission, in music generally, and in that most authentic manifestation of Andalusian folklore, the *pandas de verdiales*.

3 - It appears to be *a priori* pointless to look for correspondence between an Arabic music which to all intents and purposes died out in Spain over the course of the 16th century, and another musical style that came into being among the Gypsies of Lower Andalusia at least two centuries later. The exercise would be as absurd as seeking out Arabic etymologies for the word "flamenco", which only came to be used to designate this music during the 19th century.

4 - Any trait common to both Arabic music and flamenco which is not also present in the most traditional forms of Andalusian folklore can only be explained by the intervention of other factors.

5 - Among such factors the only plausible candidates are the Gypsies, whether they brought with them to Spain musical characteristics originating in India and in Iran (this latter being the source of Arabic music), as Manuel de Falla aims to demonstrate, or found and adopted these traits after their arrival in Andalusia and kept them from dying out, or - and this seems the most likely explanation - that they reworked the vestiges of Andalusia's Oriental past on their own cultural loom. In any case, the appearance of a phenomenon as singular as flamenco - an island of Oriental music in a sea of Occidental culture - cannot be explained without active Gypsy participation, nor without the

background of an Andalusia eternally torn between two cultures which the Gypsy community, with its own particular genius and extraordinary faculty for adaptation, finally brought into harmony.

Conclusion

The present work is unlikely to put an end to the quarrels which have always divided the flamenco world. Its sole purpose has been to extricate the debate from a tangled skein of fuzzy theories and put it back on track with the aid of a few basic historical facts and some concise observations on the musical plane. It must always be emphasised that the thematic and chronological limitations imposed by the subject - that is, the relationship between the Gypsies and flamenco, on the one hand, and on the other the more or less covert historical circumstances surrounding the apparition of the art form - do not allow us to take the phenomenon as a whole into account. If the initial period of its gestation and development was essentially Gypsy, the second phase, which considerably expanded its repertoire and audience, was primarily *Payo* or Andalusian. The transmission of certain songs, and above all of a particular interpretative style and a way of *living* the flamenco within a number of Gypsy families, is incontestable fact, but this must not blind us to the role played by *Payo* artists of genius such as Silverío Franconetti (1839-1889), Antonio Chacón (1869-1929), Antonio Ortega, known as "Juan Breva" (1844-1918), and so many other great names of flamenco without whom this art form, a minority phenomenon even in its own birthplace, would never have achieved the universal recognition it enjoys today. With the era of the "singing cafés" (*cafés de cante*), which spanned the period from 1860-1910, flamenco changed both its range and its aesthetic. Voices were no longer inevitably raucous and broken; they soared towards the high notes with a timbre and tessitura more proper to arabesques and pure virtuosity than to the naked, unfettered expressivity of Gypsy song. The attraction of the *bel canto* was to be particularly strong during the so-called "theatrical" period from 1910, when flamenco trod the boards and tried to compete with fashionable song. At the same time the repertoire was enriched by taking on a good part of traditional Andalusian folklore, for example the great family of the *fandangos*, which were to reciprocate the attraction and merge into the "deep song" (*cante jondo*), thus giving birth to such gems as the *malagueñas, granaínas, tarantas, cartageneras* and *mineras.*

Other musical styles of Iberian origin, like the *farruca* and *garrotin,* or from Latin America - *guajiras, milongas, vidalitas* and *rumbas* - were to attempt to integrate into the flamenco genre, with varying degrees of success. The most spectacular instance is that of the Afro-American *tangos*, which were all the rage in mid-19th century Spain. The Gypsies were not slow to adapt these to their own particular sense of rhythm, so thoroughly indeed that these have become one of the noblest of styles, as authentically flamenco as the basic songs for which they are often mistaken.

Today, we can say that there are no real frontiers within the flamenco genre. All the great *cantaores* (singers), be they *Payo* or Gypsy, have the whole of the repertoire at their disposal, even though certain *cantes* are better suited to one type of voice or personality than another, and of course performers have their personal preferences. The osmosis has been so complete that there are Gypsies who can sing "*Payo* style" and *Payos* who "sound Gypsy". This is all to the good, just as it is legitimate for each side to insist on the originality, the excellence, indeed the primacy of its own style. What is less legitimate is the falsification of history to legitimise personal aesthetic preference. The artistic fluidity which has, up to now, obscured the question of flamenco's origins has left the field wide open to drift in any number of directions; that is why it is time for serious research to provide some stabilising guidelines.

Gypsies assert that they get their basic styles through in-family transmission, and are usually able to cite forebears who - professionally or not - have been involved for three or four generations back. By contrast, as we have seen, the great *Payo* artists such as Silverío Franconetti and Antonio Chacón had to defy their fathers' wishes to embark on the flamenco adventure, and these individual vocations are rarely perpetuated in subsequent generations. These artists deserve no less credit than those born to the genre - quite the contrary, in fact - if we stop to consider that, Gypsy or not, with or without some element of atavism, achieving a professional mastery of the flamenco art is always the fruit of a long, patient apprenticeship.

To put it briefly, the transmission of flamenco by traditional methods within certain Gypsy families is a perfectly verifiable fact. The matter is much more complex within Andalusian *Payo* circles, where flamenco and its transmission are not part of local folklore - very much alive in many regions, and too often misunderstood - and where the flamenco audience is a very minor section of the population. The recent appearance

of this musical genre in the Andalusian context enables us to reconstruct its history with a fair degree of accuracy and to take account of virtually all of its performers. These circumstances ought to suffice to dispel all speculation on the relationships between flamenco and the two communities concerned. The great creative artists of the genre are known, and if those associated with the so-called "basic" styles like the *tonás*, *seguiriyas* and *soleares* are mostly Gypsies, the various forms of the *fandango* have tended to be linked with *Payo* names. Moreover, as we have seen, there is no point in searching the distant past for the origins of a genre that really did not come into being until the middle of the last century, and Andalusian folklore alone was in a position to directly receive the various influences detectable in, or claimed for, flamenco. We are also aware that speculation concerning more or less mythical origins came into being in 1922 out of a desire to rehabilitate a genre totally rejected by the establishment, and that this speculation was to continue to flourish in connection with quarrels that were to split the flamenco world around a common culture claimed by both *Payos* and Gypsies.

The international prestige acquired by flamenco over the 20th century resolved nothing, and the setting up of autonomous regions under the Spanish Constitution of 1978 rendered the problem even more complex. In effect Andalusia, which unlike Catalonia, the Basque Provinces, Galicia or Valencia could not claim a distinct language of its own, focussed on flamenco as the symbol of its cultural difference. Yet the racist excesses which followed were not to issue from the Andalusian Flamenco Foundation, set up in Jerez in 1988 at the initiative of the Autonomous Assembly of Andalusia (*La Junta de Andalucía*), but rather from isolated Andalusianist circles, gravely wounded by what they deemed the excessive credit given to the Gypsy element in a musical form which they considered their legitimate property. Far from sharing the views of Lorca, for whom the Gypsy epitomised Andalusia, they were infuriated to see the image of their homeland mixed up, both in the rest of Spain and abroad, with an oft-despised minority of foreign origin. Many Andalusians were deeply disturbed by the image developed for tourists - reduced to a couple of clichés : guitars, castanets, flounced dancing costumes - imposed upon them during the Franco regime. Today, those Andalusians who identify with a flamenco culture part of whose appeal is its supposed aristocratic pedigree cannot reconcile this with seeing Gypsies in the limelight, and this is quite natural.

It is not, however, grounds for a declaration of war, nor for pointless attempts at falsifying historical and musicological facts. The data conveyed in this study do not arise from polemical intentions, and are all easily verifiable. If Gypsy participation in the development of flamenco is a demonstrable fact, this is not to dispossess Andalusia as a whole of something it holds dear. The second stage of flamenco history, during which folk *fandangos* were to be transformed into *deep songs*, is at least as important as the first; flamenco as we know it today is inconceivable without this process. We have also emphasised how the period leading up to the emergence of flamenco was one in which the Gypsy community assimilated indigenous music styles, and that it was thanks to this process that a new art form was born. Flamenco could not have come into being without the concurrence of all the factors described above, and it is precisely its Andalusian character which makes it unique among Oriental musical forms. Like all important cultural phenomena it was born of encounter, and all the components of this encounter - the people, of course, the Gypsy families and the Andalusians, but also the venue itself, the hospitable soil of Lower Andalusia - were equally indispensable to the process. To ignore a single one of them would be to considerably reduce the human dimension of the end product.

The fact that Andalusians have come to recognise themselves in "Gypsy" music, once universally rejected, but which they have so taken to heart that they now dispute the paternity of their *Caló* ("Black" - Spanish Gypsies' own name for themselves) compatriots reveals a great deal about a collusion which has been going on for centuries, and which no one can really disavow. Through the songs they perform (especially those known as the "basic" songs), the words they sing (often composed by celebrated Gypsy artists, studded with *Caló* [Gypsy dialect], and loaded with allusions to the "Gypsy" way of living), and their constant reference to to a "flamenco" (which is to say, a Gypsy-Andalusian) way of thinking and behaving, Andalusians identify with a hybrid culture they can well feel proud of. Another form of identification, no less significant, is the fact that at fiesta time young Andalusian women all dress up as *Flamencas* - that is, as Gypsies - donning the long, flounced, colourful spangled dresses worn by Gypsy women a century ago, when Gypsy horse-dealers still reigned over the great animal fairs of Andalusia. It is true that following a fashion or putting on a costume does not necessarily imply any degree of sympathy for those being imitated, and that carnival disguises are mostly a way of breaking taboos, but it is no less true that these Gypsy symbols that Andalusians brandish

like a banner testify to a common past perhaps less small-minded and richer in genuine values than the era in which we live. At a time when the *Payo* or *Gadjo* world is foundering in the cheerless anomie of uniformity and devising new weapons to strip the Gypsies of the "outmoded" values (solidarity, family, a contempt for material wealth, a strong sense of celebration...) they have succeeded in preserving right up to the end of the 20th century, Andalusians cannot be the only ones to recognise the cultural debt mankind as a whole owes to a people too often dismissed as having "no culture" and who can give us, every day, with or without music, a few lessons in humanity.

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Glossary

Alcalde - The principal administrative and judicial officer in a municipality or district.

Alegrías - Songs from the *cantiñas* group, considered to be derived from the **soleá**.

Arabo-Andalusian - Adjective aplied to the art, and in particular to the poetry and music, of the Andalusian Arabs, certain forms of which survive in North Africa.

Arsenal - Naval dockyard where military ships are built, repaired, fitted and armed.

Betica - Name of a Roman province in the south of the Iberian peninsula, approximately corresponding to modern Andalusia. The phrase "Betica Gypsies" is used by certain Spanish authors claiming a different origin for Andalusian Gypsies than for those elsewhere, and also stipulating that this group arrived in the peninsula long before the 15th century. The hypothesis has no scientific foundation.

Bögö (or **szaj bögö** - "bass vocal") - Term borrowed from the Hungarian language to designate a technique used by Rom of the Wallachian (*Vlax*) group for their dance music (**khelimaski gili**) and which consists in marking the rhythm - both beat and off-beat - with the aid of various sounds produced by the mouth. Cf. p. 75.

Buleaeros - Artists who specialise **bulerías**, a type of song, guitar interlude, and dance from the flamenco repertoire.

Byzantines - The Byzantines occupied part of Andalusia from 554-629. There is no evidence that this occupation had any influence on the region's music, but posterity has tended to confuse the primitive Hispanic liturgy (sometimes mistakenly called **Mozarabic**) with the Byzantine liturgy.

Caló - Literally, "black". **Gitanos'** own name for themselves and their language.

Cante - Andalusian form of the **canto** (song), often employed as an abbreviation of **cante jondo** ("deep song") to designate flamenco song.

Catholic Monarchs - Fernando II of Aragon (reigned 1474-1516) and Isabel I of Castile (reigned 1474-1504), better known in English as Ferdinand and Isabella. Their marriage achieved political unity for Spain. They went on to reconquer the last bastion of Islamic rule, **Grenada**.

Charles I (1500-1558) - King of Spain under this title. Also Emperor of Germany as Charles V and King of Sicily as Charles IV.

Copla - A brief lyric poem comprising from two to five or six short lines. While generally translated as "stanza", the word designates a unit which is totally self-contained with regard to meaning.

Corregidor - Judicial magistrate and supreme local authority in certain large cities.

Las Cortes - An assembly comprising representatives of the "states" (that is, social classes - whence its other name, **States General**) and the cities, convened by the king for the purpose of advising on certain aspects of government (power remained firmly with the monarch) and particularly to authorise the levying of certain exceptional taxes.

Council - (Sp. *Consejo de Castilla*) - A body which acted as supreme tribunal and as consultant to the monarch.

Duende - A state of exaltation or trance brought about by flamenco music, often compared to the *tarab* of Arabic music. See definition p. 21.

Etudes Tsiganes ("Gypsy Studies") : Association founded in Paris in the 1950's; publishes a scholarly journal.

Galleys - Manpower at the oars remained an essential adjunct to wind power until both were eventually replaced by steam. Able-bodied male convicts were frequently sentenced to this form of hard labour, which was often a death sentence.

"Generation of '98" - A group of writers of this era, known inter alia for their anti-flamenco stance. In 1922, de Falla, García Lorca and co. organised the first flamenco competition as a counter-move, to rehabilitate this music.

Ghawazi - The dancing girls - usually Gypsy - of Egypt.

Gitano/s (noun and adjective) - The Gypsies of Spain and Southern France, who call themselves **Caló.**

Grenada, reconquest of - The *Reconquista* (reconquest of Spain by indigenous Spaniards) was a gradual process over a period of centuries. Grenada, the final bastion, was re-taken in 1492 under the **Catholic Monarchs**, thus ending 7 centuries of Islamic rule in Spain.

Guardia Civil - Military corps for the pursuit of outlaws in rural areas, set up in 1844 to replace the old **Santa Hermandad**.

Iglesias frías - The right of an individual claiming sanctuary (ecclesiastical immunity from the secular authorities) on Church property, to remain under Church protection even after being forcibly removed from such property. Until repealed in 1748, this law meant that, after trial, the accused had to be returned to the premises from which he had been arrested.

Jarcha - See **Kharja**.

Juergas - Intimate get-togethers of flamenco artists and aficionados (akin to "sessions" in jazz circles).

Kharja (noun, singular and plural) - Final stanza of the Arabo-Andalusian poetic form known as **muwashshah**, usually borrowed from popular verse, sometimes in the **Mozarabic** language.

Khelimaski gili - see **Bögö.**

Latifundia (sg. **latifundium**) - Vast agricultural estates, worked extensively and by archaic methods.

Martinete - An unacompanied song from the **tonás** group, generally associated with work at the anvil.

Mozarab - Historically, pertaining to indigenous Christians living in Muslim-dominated regions of Spain. Adjectival form, **Mozarabic**, used to describe their language and music.

Muwashshah - An Arabic poem composed to be set to music, terminating in a folk-style couplet or refrain in the vernacular (**jarcha** or **kharja**).

Nana - A lullaby.

New Castilian - Expression coined in the 18th century to replace the word "Gypsy" when this was banned by law, in contrast to **Old Castilian** (a person of Spanish stock), on the model of the term *New Christian*, formerly applied to converted Jews and Muslims *(Conversos)* as opposed to indigenous Christians or persons of Spanish stock, called *Old Christians*.

Pandas - Small folk orchestras that play *fandangos* known as **verdiales**. See p. 86.

Payo (noun and adjective) - (A) non-Gypsy.

Pragmatic (Sp. *Real Pragmática*) - A type of decree, signed by the Monarch.

Privilege - Document entitling the holder to exemption from some current legislation, for example, exempting a Gypsy from general anti-Gypsy measures.

Romance (noun) - A narrative poem, usually sung.

Romungro - The word used by Rom of the Wallachian *(Vlax)* group to designate sedentary "Hungarian" groups, from whom professional musicians are drawn.

Saeta - Song on a religious theme, performed during Holy Week processions.

Santa Hermandad ("Holy Brotherhood") - Militia established in 1476 by the **Catholic Monarchs** for the pursuit of outlaws in rural areas.

Seguiriya (or **siguiriya**) - Gypsy-Andalusian version of the Castilian word **seguidilla**, designating one of the basic song styles of flamenco, among the most characteristic of the Gypsy repertoire and for this reason sometimes called *seguiriya gitana.*

Soleá (plural : **soleares**) - One of the basic song styles of flamenco, along with the **romances**, the **tonás** and the **seguiriyas**.

States General - see **Las Cortes.**

Tonás - Unaccompanied songs, considered, along with the **romances** from which they appear to derive, to be among the most ancient in the flamenco repertoire.

Verdiales - A type of *fandango* from the Málaga region.

RESERVADA

Recordings of Flamenco Music

a selective list

Recordings which are not readily available in the UK and which may have to be imported or bought in Spain are listed separately. Where known the name of the distributor as well as the recording company is given for records available in the UK. In case of difficulty readers might like to try one of the following suppliers:

El Mundo Flamenco
62 Dike Street, London W1M 5DS. Tel: 0171-493 0033

Harmonium Mundi
19-21 Nile Street, London N1 7LL. Tel: 0171-253 0863

The publisher would like to acknowledge the assistance of the research team of the Presencia Gitana Association in Madrid, the suppliers and the Mechanical-Copyright Protection Society in compiling this selective list of recordings.

Anthologies

Grands Cantaores du Flamenco; Chant du Monde; 16 volumes; dist. Harmonium Mundi.
Highlights:
Vol. 7: Manolo Caracol (LDX 274899)
Vol. 15: Camarón de la Isla (LDX 274957)
Vol. 16: Manuel Soto el Sordea (LDX 274958).
This anthology also includes:
Grandes Figures du Flamenco
Vol. 5: Ramón Montoya (LDX 274879)
Vol. 14: Sabicas (LDX 274935).

50 Años de Flamenco (1940-90), second edition.
In twelve volumes including recordings by El Sevillano (CD 5373), Niña de La Puebla (CD 5374), Fosforito (VCD 5388), El Cabrero (CD 5389), El Turronero (CD 5390), Naranjito de Triana (CD 5391), El Lebrijano (CD 5392), Perlita de Huelva (CD 5393), Pepe Marchena (CD 5389), Pepe Pinto, Juanito Valderrama and Canalejas de Puerto Real (CD 5372).

Arte Flamenco; Mandala; Vols 1 - 4; dist. Harmonium Mundi.
Vol. 1: Niño de Almalden – Canulejas de Jerez (MAN 4828).

Duende
Box set covering all aspects of Flamenco; 3 CD and a 48pp booklet; Ellipsis records; Sterns CD 3350.

Flamencología; Planet Records; Vol. 1 - 7; dist. Discovery.

Maestros de la Guitarra; Planet Records; Vol 1 - 6; dist. Discovery.

Early Cante Flamenco; Arhoolie; dist. direct; CD 326
Rare Historic Recordings from the 1930s.

Cante Flamenco; Nimbus Records; dist. Nimbus.

Cante Gitano; Nimbus Records; dist. Nimbus.

Los Jovenes Flamencos, Vol. 1 and 11; Hannibal Records; distr. Pinnacle.
Young flamenco groups from the 1980-90 inc. Ketama, Pata Negra etc.

Anthologies only readily available in Spain

Camarón nuestro; Philips; 2 CD.
Antonio Mairena; Junta de Andalucía; 16 CD.
Una historia del cante flamenco; Manolo Caracol; Hispavox; 2 LP.
Magna antología del cante flamenco; Hispavox; 20 vols.; CD and LP.
Antología del cante gitano de nuestra tierras; Caja San Fernando de Sevilla y Jerez; 7 vols; LP and soon on CD.

Recordings of individual artists

Carmen Linares
Cantaora; Riverboat Records.

Paco Pena
Misa Flamenca; Nimbus Records.

Fernanda y Bernarda de Utrera
Cante Flamenco; Ocora.

Various
Guitarra Flamenca; Kardum; dist. Discovery, KAR501.

Carlos Montoya and el Pili
Guitar and Flamenco; EPM; dist. Discovery 995332.

Pitiné de Utrera
Guitarra Flamenca; Arion; dist. Discovery

Moraito
Morao y Oro; Auvidis; Discovery B6772.

Recordings of individual artists only readily available in Spain

Chaquetón: Museo del Flamenco; Abanico.
Chiquetete; RCA.
Diego Rubichi: Por el hierro y el fuego; Duende.
El Camarón de La Isla: Castillo de arena; Philips.
El Camarón y otros: Nochebuena gitana; Philips.
El Chocolate; Peril.
El Indio Gitano: Nací gitano por la gracia de Dios; Nuevos Medios.
El Lebrijano: Dame la libertad; Ariola.
El Lebrijano: El Cante de ... Perfil.
El Lebrijano: Pensamiento ... Ariola.
El Torta: Colores morenos; Audivis.
Fernando de la Morena: De Santiago a Santa Ana; Audivis.
Ginesa Ortega: Suspiro gitano; Horus.
José de la Tomasa: Compás del sueño; Pureza.
José Mercé: Desnudando el alma; Fonomusic.
Joselete de Linares; BBG.
Juana la del Revuelo: A compás; Pasarela.

La Macanita; Audivis.
La Marelu; Dial.
La Paquera de Jerez; Doblón.
La Paquera de Jerez; Philips.
La Perrata; Philips.
Manolo Caracol: Cante Flamenco; Fandango.
María Soleá: Embrujo del cante; Senador.
Pansequito: Como los gitanos éramos; Cocx.
Pansequito: Suenan las campanas; Fods.
Pansequito: Tápame; Fonomusic.
Porrinas de Badajoz: Lo mejor de... Doblón.
Rafael Romero; Philips.
Ramón el Portugués: Gitanos de la plaza; Nuevos Medios.
Terremoto de Jerez; Philips.
Tomás Pavón; Junta de Andalucía.
Varios: Así canta nuestra tierra en Navidad; Caja San Fernando de Sevilla y Jerez; 12 vols.
Varios: Cante Flamenco; Nimbus Records.
Varios: El Angel; RTVE Música.
Varios: Fiesta & Cante Jondo; Audivis.
Vicente Soto: Tríptico Flamenco; RTVE Música.

240 Deceased Gypsy Flamenco Singers

This list covers the last quarter of a century of research into Spanish history. It begins with the period that researchers and students have recognised as being the bursting into bud of flamenco. The list has been refined and consolidated by the *Equipo de Estudios de Presencia Gitana* (Research team of Presencia Gitana Association) to give both the family and artistic names of singers of purely Gypsy origin from the mythical Luis Montoya Garcés (Tío Luis de la Juliana) from the period of the Spanish mass internment of Gypsies (1749-50) to the universaly acknowledged genius of José Monge Cruz (Camarón de La Isla), the memory of whose recent loss still moves us.

Agujetas El Viejo (Manuel de los Santos Pastor);
Agustín Fernández Talega;
Alonso del Cepillo;
Alonso Pantoja;
Ana del Cepillo;
Ana La Alondra;
Ana La Lora;
Andrés El Loro;
Angustitas;
Anilla la de Ronda;
Antonia la de San Roque;
Antonia La Lora;
Antonia La Peña;
Antonio El Mellizo;
Antonio El Pipoño;
Antonio Mairena (Antonio Cruz García);
Arturo Pabón (Arturo Pabón Cruz);
Bochoque;
Calderas de Salamanca;
Candelaria Fernández;
Carapiera;
Carlota;
Carlota Jiménez Espeleta;
Chano Ortega;
Chaqueta (Antonio);
Cojo de Málaga (Joaquín Vargas);
Curra La Sandita;
Curro Dulce o Durse (Francisco Fernández);
Curro Frijones (Antonio Vargas Antúnez);
Curro Mairena;
Curro Pabla (Francisco de Pabla Ortega Vargas);
Curro Pala;
Curro Puya (Francisco Vega);
Diego Antúnez, El Africano;
Diego de Brenes;
Diego Ortega, El Mezcle;
El Aguila;
El Almendro (Enrique);
El Brujo (Pedro Niño Moreno);
El Burrirri;
El Caganchín;
El Camarón de La Isla;
El Caracol Viejo;
El Chaquetón (siglo XIX);
El Chiquetete de Algeciras (Juan Pantoja);
El Chozas (Juan José Vargas);
El Cojo Peroche;
El Cornuo de Algeciras;

El Cuadrillero;
El Cuervo;
El Fillo (Francisco Ortega Vargas);
El Flecha de Cádiz;
El Lebrijano (Diego Fernández Flores);
El Loli (Manuel Lobato);
El Marrurro (Diego López);
El Morcilla;
El Negro de Rota;
El Niño de Gloria (Rafael Ramos Antúnez);
El Pavirri;
El Perrate;
El Pinini de Utrera (Fernando Utrera Soto);
El Piyayo (Rafael Flores Nieto);
El Planeta;
El Pollo Rubio (José Espeleta);
El Porío;
El Puli;
El Quino;
El Tati;
El Tiznao;
El Troni;
El Viejo de la Isla;
Enrique Butrón;
Enrique de La Paula (Enrique Fernández);
Enrique El Culata;
Enrique El Mellizo (Francisco Antonio Jiménez Fernández);
Enrique Ortega El Gordo;
Enrique Ortega El Viejo;
Espeleta (Ignacio);
Félix de Sanlúcar (Félix Serrano);
Fernandillo de Morón;
Fernando Ortega, El Mezcle;
Francisco La Perla;
Frasco Bodroque;
Frasco El Colorao;
Gandinga;
Habichuela El Viejo;
Isabelita de Jerez (Isabel Ramos Moreno);
Iyanda (José);
Jilica de Marchena;
Jiménez Espeleta (Enrique);
Joaquín de La Paula (Joaquín Fernández Vargas);
Joaquín Lacherna (Laserna);
José Cantoral; José de la Luz;
José de Paula;
José Ortega Morales;
Joselero de Morón;
Juan Cantoral;
Juan de Dios;
Juan el Cagón;
Juan El de Alonso;
Juan El Mojigongo;
Juan Encueros (Juan Ortega Vargas);
Juan Feria;
Juan Junquera;
Juan Pavón, El Cojo Pavón;
Juan Pelao;
Juan Soto, "Torre";
Juan Talega;
Juan Vargas;
Juan Vargas Gómez;
Juanata (Juan Pérez Gil);
Juanelo de Cádiz;
Juanichi El Manijero;
Juanillo El Gitano;
Juaniquí de Lebrija;
Juanito (Juanillo) Jambre (Juan Palomares Flores);
Juanito Mojama;
Julepe;
La Andonda;
La Bilbá;
La Bizca de Cádiz;
La Cachuchera;
La Canastera;
La Fandita;
La Faraona;
La Farota;
La Finito;
La Gazpacha;
La Guaracha;
La Josefa;
La Juanaca de Cádiz;
La Junquera;
La Lobata;
La Mejorana (Rosario);
La Moreno (Luisa Moreno);
La Obispa;
La Perla de Cádiz (Antonia Gilabert Vargas);
La Perla de Triana;
La Pilí; La Pirula;
La Pompi (Luisa Ramos Antúnez);
La Repompa (Enriqueta Reyes);
La Roezna (Soledad Tinoco);
La Rubia de Cádiz;
La Serneta;
La Serrana (María Valencia);
La Sorda;

La Talegona;
Las Mirri (Ana María y Francisca Vargas);
Loca Mateo;
Loco Mateo;
Los Aparejeros de Triana;
Luis de Pacote;
Luis del Cepillo;
Luis el de La Maora;
Luisa Butrón;
Manolito de María;
Manolo Caracol (Manuel Ortega Juárez);
Manolo Vargas;
Manuel Cantoral;
Manuel Ortega Feria;
Manuel Torre;
Manuela Fernández;
María Armento;
María Borrico;
María de La Nieves;
María la Cangilona;
María La Cantorala;
María la Chirrina;
María La Jaca;
María La Macarrona;
María La Mica;
María La Regalá;
Mariquita Ortega;
Mercé La Serneta (Mercedes Fernández Vargas);
Miguel Bendala;
Miguel de Pepa (Miguel Vargas Carpio);
Niño de las Cabezas;
Niño Sánchez (Juan José Sánchez);
Paco el de La Malena;
Paco El Gitano;
Paco El Sanluqueño;
Paco La Luz (Francisco Valencia);
Pastora Pabón (Pastora Pabón Cruz);
Pepa La Bochoca, o Pepa La del Bochoque;
Pepa La Bodroque;
Pepa La de Pomares;
Pepe El Culata;
Pepe El Sanluqueño;
Pepe Torre;
Perico Campos;
Perico Cantarote;
Perico El Tito (Pedro Valencia);
Perico Frascola (Pedro Carrasco Serrano);
Pitarra;
Porrinas de Badajoz;
Rafael El Carabinero (Rafael Antúnez);
Ramón de Cádiz;
Ramón de Paula;
Ramón Medrano;
Rita Ortega Morales;
Rosa La Papera;
Rosalía de Triana (Rosalía Agudo);
Rosario La del Colorao;
Salvador Pantalón;
Señor Manuel Molina (Curro Molina);
Sernita (Manuel Fernández);
Soleá la de Juanelo;
Terremoto de Jerez;
Tía Anica Amaya;
Tia Marina Habichuela;
Tía Sarvaora;
Tío Antonio Cagancho (Antonio Rodríguez);
Tío Borrico de Jerez (Gregorio Manuel Fernández);
Tío Cabeza (Francisco Fernández Ramos);
Tío Curro;
Tío Diego El Picaor;
Tío Enrique El Gitano;
Tío Frasco;
Tío Frascola (José Carrasco Serrano);
Tío Furgante (Manuel);
Tío Gregorio;
Tío Joaquín Cagancho (Joaquín Rodríguez);
Tío Juan Macarrón;
Tío Juane;
Tío Juanelo de Jerez;
Tío Luis de La Juliana (Luis Montoya Garcés);
Tío Luis El Cautivo;
Tío Luis Jesús;
Tío Manuel Cagancho (Manuel Rodríguez);
Tío Mateo;
Tío Noriega, El Viejo Noriega;
Tío Perico Mariano;
Tío Rivas;
Tío Vicente Macarrón;
Tomás El Nitri o Mandanga;
Tomás Pabón (Tomás Pabón Cruz);
Tomás Torre (Tomás de Soto Torres);
Viejo de La Isla.

Collection
INTERFACE

This work takes on the delicate question of flamenco's origins, approaching it both in the context of the vast sweep of Gypsy musical styles from India to Western Europe, and in relation to the dramatic history of Gypsy persecution in modern Spain - not forgetting the crucial contribution of Andalusian soll.

The grand tour of music styles played by Gypsies professionally and in private, presented in part one, enables us to discern a number of shared characteristics and, even more importantly, isolate authentically Gypsy musical traits from those of the surrounding populations, and to identify both musical borrowings and those features common to all styles classed as Oriental.

Part two, covering Spanish Gypsy history, retraces the circumstances surrounding their forced settlement and acculturation, an understanding of which is essential in explaining the emergence of the flamenco phenomenon as late as the 19th century.

Part three concentrates on those privileged Gypsy families nicknamed Flemish - flamencas - who were to bequeath their name to the music they developed under very specific conditions and in a clearly defined geographical framework.

The final section outlines a critical analysis of the various hypotheses put forward on the subject of the origins of flamenco, demonstrating that certain of its characteristics can only be accounted for by the intervention of the Gypsies of Andalusia, and summarising current scholarship in the field.

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